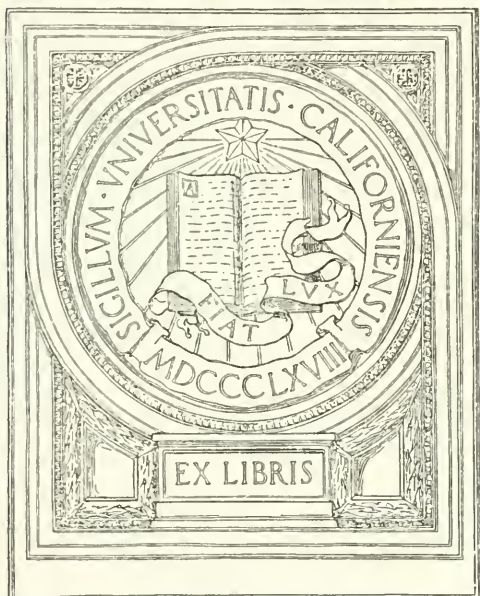




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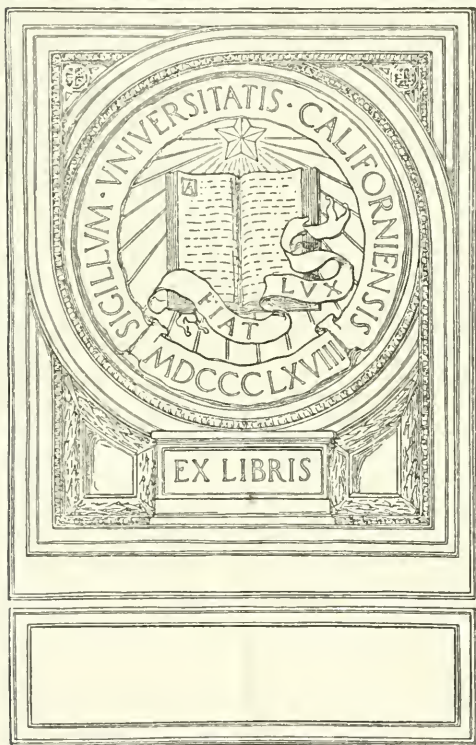
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A

# REVIEW

OF THE

OF THE

## PRINCIPAL PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

PARLIAMENT OF 1784.

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LONDON:

Printed for R. EDWARDS, No. 142, New  
Bond Street.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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*Dawson's*

THE maxim of the Roman moralist, "that the present day should be a disciple of the past," may be applied, with equal, or, perhaps, greater force, to nations as well as to individuals. In proportion to the extent and intricacy of public concerns, is the value of that safe and salutary counsel which experience affords for their direction. The interests of individuals, theory may sometimes venture to balance and decide; but he must be confident, indeed, who will commit to her guidance the interests of nations,

*B*                      compli-

complicated and uncertain as they are, if he can find in practice and experience a sure foundation on which to build his opinions.

Events, however, will sometimes arise for the conduct of which no precise direction can be drawn from the history of former times. In the management of such events, a Statesman must rely upon his own capacity and genius, unsupported by precedent, and unassisted by example.

Events of this kind have been more frequent during the space of a few years back from the present time, than in any period of the same duration with which we are acquainted. In this country, we are happy to think, the occurrences  
have



have been important, but not disastrous ; the scene has been change-ful and busy, but it has been marked with no distressful catastrophe ; we can look back on it for comfort as well as instruction, and profit from the warnings of vicissitude, without the severer corrections of adversity.

The History of the Parliament 1784 comprehends a series of events, involving in a very uncommon degree the most important interests of Great Britain. The revision of these transactions can scarcely be a matter of indifference to any subject of this country ; their importance, indeed, have been felt by the people, and they have pronounced with very little reserve on the nature and tendency of the measures adopted du-

ring that period by their representatives. This judgement of the people, if properly regulated, is one of the most useful qualities of a free Government. It anticipates the historic fame of a good and a pure Administration, the infamy of a wicked and a corrupt one. It gives to the present time that jurisdiction which, in arbitrary Governments, is only exercised by posterity, and substitutes an actual and solid advantage in place of useless regret or empty encomium.

But the people, it has been repeatedly observed, though always right in sentiment, are not always right in opinion. Their opinions are liable to be misled by the warmth of momentary impressions, or by the prescriptive authority of certain popular

pular ideas, which form the political creed of the great bulk of the community. It may be worth their while sometimes to retrace those impressions, to reconsider the justice of those ideas ; to weigh, with retrospective calmness, the reasons for their applause of some measures, for their censure of others ; to regulate the measure of their future confidence, and to restrain the hastiness of future mistrust and apprehension.

With this view, it may be allowed to one of their own number to recall to their remembrance the conduct of the late Parliament in some of those very important proceedings in which it was its fortune to be engaged. Some of these may now be traced in their effects ; and  
all

all of them may be considered with a greater degree of impartiality than was consistent with the immediate warmth of party-debate, or the agitation of opposite and contending interests. From the same consideration, he may also venture to suggest a review of those transactions to the present representatives of the people. This is the first period at which such a review could be properly recommended to their attention. During the last Session, besides the ordinary business which always attends the opening of a new Parliament, there were other circumstances not favourable to deliberate discussion. With the prospect of peace, which the result of the late negotiations on the Continent, and the general sentiment of European politics, may now reasonably



ably afford, the present Parliament, we flatter ourselves, may have leifure for the undifturbed exercife of its deliberative functions ; may have a full opportunity of providing for the completion and permanency of every useful regulation already eftablifhed, as well as for the adoption of thofe of which its own wifdom and information may fuggelt the expediency.

## ERRATA.

- P. 71, line 14, for *exactments*, read *enactments*  
80, last line, for *between 62,000l. and 63,000l. &c.*,  
read *about 60,000l., &c.*  
82, line 17, in a few of the copies, for 6,696,221,  
read 6,698,221  
92, — 3, for *and one million*, read *amounting to*  
one million

## SECTION I.

### INDIA.

*India Bill of 1783.—India Bill of 1784.—  
India declaratory Bill.—Impeachment of  
Mr. Hastings.*

IN looking back to the commencement of the late Parliament, it is impossible to forget the conclusion of that immediately preceding. The measure which produced its dissolution was one of that kind which holds no middle place in the political system. It was of a magnitude that roused the attention of every man to whom the Constitution of his country appeared an object of importance. The introduction of Mr. Fox's celebrated *India Bill* was favoured by the necessity which was felt of some reform in the administration of our eastern possessions. The empire held, by Great Britain in the East, had by that time grown much too unwieldy for the government of

a mercantile Company, with whose very nature and constitution were interwoven so many obvious causes of the mismanagement and oppression of those territories. The interposition of the British Legislature to regulate that Government and to restrain that oppression, was loudly called for by the justice and humanity of the nation. But those very feelings were alarmed by the provisions, equally violent and unnecessary, which this bill contained, tending to annihilate and destroy not only the power, but the property and the commerce, of the East-India Company. This struck the feelings of the people at large, which are easily awakened to a sense of immediate oppression and injustice; but to those who could investigate more deeply, the danger with which the bill in question threatened the most essential principles of the British Constitution seemed still a greater and more extensive object of apprehension. The immeasurable influence and patronage which it placed in seven Commissioners named by Parliament, in violation of the rights of the executive branch of the Government, whose unity it destroyed,



stroyed, and whose exertions it must frustrate, created, it was said, a new power in the state, of such a nature and such an extent, as to overbear every wholesome check which the wisdom of our forefathers had contrived against the encroachments or preponderance of any one order of the state\*. A foundation, it was argued, was laid for an aristocratical despotism, by which the liberties of most European states have been fatally overturned; a despotism by which

\* The extent of this influence is very fully and justly stated in an excellent pamphlet written at the time by Mr. Pulteney, one of the most intelligent and independent Members of the House of Commons. His words on that head are, “ The whole influence  
 “ of the offices of every kind in India, and at home,  
 “ belonging to the Company; and the whole influence arising from the transactions of their trade,  
 “ in the purchase of goods for exportation, furnishing shipping, stores, and recruits; and the influence arising from the method of selling their goods,  
 “ by bringing forward or keeping back goods at the sales, or giving indulgencies as to payments, so as  
 “ to accommodate those who are meant to be favoured; the influence arising from the favour they may shew to those who are now in England, and  
 “ have left debts or effects in India, as to the mode

which the people had even in some instances been driven, as feeling it a lesser evil, to throw themselves on the arbitrary rule of a Monarch.

With these arguments against the India-Bill of 1783, the public opinion seemed to

“ of bringing home and receiving their fortunes; the  
 “ influence of contracts of all kinds in India; of  
 “ promotions from step to step; of favour in the in-  
 “ land trade; of intimidation with respect to every  
 “ person now there, who may come home with a  
 “ fortune, both with regard to recovering his debts,  
 “ and the means of remittance, and with regard to  
 “ inquiries into his conduct; the influence upon fo-  
 “ reign companies or foreign states, who have esta-  
 “ blishments in the country; the influence upon the  
 “ native Princes of India, some of whom have al-  
 “ ready found the way of procuring the elections  
 “ of Members of Parliament; and many other means  
 “ of influence which it is impossible to foresee or to  
 “ trace.”

✓ The seizure of the Company's warehouses, goods, books, &c. which this bill enacted, its usurpation of their whole commercial management, seemed, at first view, to the Public, a mere wanton exertion of arbitrary and extravagant power; but those who had considered the subject more closely, allowed it, at least, the merit of a motive; it was a part of that rapacity of patronage which was the distinguishing feature of the bill.

△ coincide ;

coincide ; and the nation beheld rather with satisfaction than surprise, the dismissal of the Ministers by whom it had been introduced, though such dismissal was resisted by various resolutions of the House of Commons. That Ministry had, indeed, in its formation, the seeds of great unpopularity. The alliance of the two adverse parties of which it was composed, seemed so much beyond the usual pliancy even of politicians ; the personal violence of their former hostility seemed so repugnant to every idea of junction, that the natural integrity of the people felt the *Coalition* as one of those public violations of consistency, one of those public derelictions of principle, which destroy all future confidence, and forfeit all future esteem.

A majority of the House of Commons constituted in this manner, and excited to such a purpose, did not carry its usual and natural weight in the adoption of public Measures. That majority complained loudly of the disregard that was shewn to its remonstrances ; impartial men felt as a precedent of ill tendency, the abuse and consequent disrespect of a power which  
the

the House of Commons had often exerted, for the benefit of its constituents, with a vigour and an effect in which the friends of liberty rejoiced and triumphed. They saw, with peculiar regret, that, in this war of party, the weapons which had been so often wielded in defence of the Public, were blunted by the injustice of the cause in which they were employed. They lamented that, in this instance, the constitutional language and principles, which every lover of his country wishes to preserve in their fullest force, were perverted, as the people believed, to cover party machinations and designs of inordinate ambition; they thus lost the sacredness of their ancient authority, and the democratical part of our Constitution was exposed to a danger of which it was fortunate for the public tranquillity that the moderation of the Crown was not in the smallest degree disposed to take advantage.

In the dissolution of the Parliament the Crown acted with a reluctant slowness, which at the time was blamed by some of its friends as unnecessary and hurtful. But it was a measure proper to be adopted only  
on



on that necessity which deliberation could not overcome, and on that strong and imperative voice with which the people continued to demand the dissolution of the representative body, who, in their opinion, had attempted to violate those great constitutional principles which their constituents had entrusted them to guard.

The bill which was introduced in the new Parliament in the room of the former which the House of Lords had rejected, was really founded on the principle of controlling an authority which had been misemployed, and of correcting abuses which had existed in the Government of our Asiatic possessions. It was essential, for those purposes, to establish somewhere a superintending and corrective power, to resist and remedy that corruption which had so shamefully pervaded the Administration of Indian affairs. To rescue the natives of that great country, which was now become a part of the British empire, from the rapacious tyranny to which they were exposed; to rescue the Company itself from

the ruin which was likely to result from the malversations of its servants; and, above all, to save the empire from that enormous mischief which the corruptions of those distant provinces were likely to bring upon it; were objects to which no slight inconvenience to individuals could, in sound principles of national policy or of national justice, be opposed. But to make the provisions remedial, not oppressive, to limit their extent to the necessity that occasioned them, and to commit their execution to persons neither interested to strain their severity nor relax their justice; these were the objects to which it became the Legislature to confine itself in the exercise of the corrective functions which it was now called upon to employ. It restrained therefore, though it did not abrogate, the powers of the India Company in its political concerns; but it left uncontrolled those strictly commercial transactions which did not interfere with the Government of Asia or the welfare of Britain.

In the constitution of that Board to which the superintendence of Indian affairs  
was

was to be intrusted, the new bill endeavoured to provide for the unbiaſſed exerciſe of that ſuperintendance, by withholding as much as poſſible the temptations of influence or patronage. It gave the Commiſſioners the power which was neceſſary for correction and control; but it denied them that which was likely to be ſubſervient to domeſtic ambition, or to endanger that counterpoiſe by which the Britiſh Conſtitution is ſupported. ✓ ^

For the correction of abuſes in India, a ſtronger and more efficient government was neceſſary in that country. We had ſuffered as often from the want of power as from the want of integrity or ability in our Governors. The bill in queſtion lodged in the hands of the Governor General and Council in Bengal a degree of authority calculated to enforce the meaſures of reform and good government, which the intereſts of both the parent-ſtate and the provinces required. It took away the neceſſity which had ſometimes exiſted of compromiſing with abuſes from the weakneſs of the hand that ſhould have checked them. It gave an immediate efficient con-

✓ trol upon the spot, subject again to the superintendence and revision which it had established at home, in order that the redress of wrongs might neither be tardy or defective from the want of power, nor be precipitate or immoderate from the want of responsibility. The same supreme effective authority in one of the Presidencies over the others, was necessary towards the unity of political transactions, which had been formerly often conducted with the weakness of divided councils acting independently of each other. But the bill,
   
 ^ with peculiar care, drew the line respecting the power of declaring war and commencing hostilities, at the same time that it studiously prohibited all schemes of offensive war, founded merely on the desire of conquest, and of extension of empire, it provided the means of acting with vigour and effect in every case where war might become necessary on the principle of self-defence, and it gave to the Government on the spot the power of immediately adopting such measures and entering into such engagements as might be necessary for the purpose of obtaining adequate re-
   
 paration,

paration, and providing for future security\*.

Among the provisions which this bill contained for the prevention and punishment of Indian delinquency, that to which the chief opposition was made was the institution of a new Board of Judicature for the trial of offences committed in India.

But

\* 24 Geo. III. C. 25. Sec. 34.

“ And whereas to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India, are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of this nation, be it therefore further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall not be lawful for the Governor General and Council of Fort William aforesaid, without the express command and authority of the said Court of Directors, or of the secret Committee of the said Court of Directors, in any case (*except where hostilities have actually been commenced, or preparations actually made for the commencement of hostilities against the British nation in India, or against some of the Princes or states dependent thereon, or whose territories the said united Company shall be at such time engaged by any subsisting treaty to defend or guarantee*) either to declare war or commence hostilities, or enter into any treaty for making war against any of the country Princes or states in India, or any treaty for guaranteeing the possessions of any country Princes or states; and that in

But the strong national attachment to the Jury trial of England, naturally over-ruled the

*such case it shall not be lawful for the said Governor General and Council to declare war or commence hostilities, or enter into treaty for making war against any other Prince or State than such as shall be actually committing hostilities, or making preparations as aforesaid, or to make such treaty for guaranteeing the possessions of any Prince or State, but upon the consideration of such Prince or State actually engaging to assist the Company against such hostilities commenced, or preparations made as aforesaid; and in all cases where hostilities shall be commenced, or treaty made, the said Governor General and Council shall, by the most expeditious means they can devise, communicate the same unto the said Court of Directors, together with a full state of the information and intelligence upon which they shall have commenced such hostilities, or made such treaties, and their motives and reasons for the same at large."*

The provisions of this clause could not have been more explicit, if they had been made with a view to the actual circumstances which compelled the Government of India to enter on the present war with Tippoo, and to the measures which they thought necessary for the vigorous prosecution of it. It seems particularly to recognise (what indeed is obvious) the necessity of decisive measures in case of an attack, or even preparation for an attack, not only against the British nation, but against any of  
its

the objections against this mode of trial, when it was observed to be formed as nearly on the same model as the circumstances of the case appeared to admit ; and that in the construction of this Judicature every precaution was taken that could tend to secure its respectability and impartiality. It seemed indeed very difficult, if not impossible, to give either efficiency or promptitude to any tribunal of which the proceedings should be regulated precisely by the ancient customary forms of the English law. The failure of national justice in the punishment of Indian offences had been but too often observable. In the present instance the objections to a Judicature, formed for the attainment of that justice, arose from men whose eloquence had frequently lamented the oppression of Asia, which in Britain they found no adequate means to redress or to expiate.

its allies ; and it expressly gives in this case a liberty, which it withholds in ordinary times, to contract such engagements with other powers in that country as may induce them effectually to co-operate with us in the prosecution of a just and necessary war.

Let's



Less animadversion was made on the clauses enacting a public disclosure and record of the fortunes brought by individuals from India, though these provisions might be deemed of an inquisitorial kind, averſe to the genius of our law, and degrading to the national character. But the country was ſo ſtrongly impreſſed with the neceſſity of correcting the peculation and corruption with which the management of thoſe diſtant provinces had been ſullied, that it was willing to venture remedies of a ſtrong and ſomewhat invidious kind, if they were ſuch as did not trench on the public ſafety. This meaſure, however, produced very great diſcontents in India, and was afterwards repealed by the amending act of 1786. This laſt-mentioned law made another material alteration in the ſtate of 1784, by enabling the Governor General, or the Governor of any of the ſubordinate Preſidencies, in any caſe where he believed a meaſure to be eſſential to the intereſts of the Company, to order ſuch meaſure of his own authority, even againſt the opinion of all the other members of the Council; but it coupled this power with

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an obligation on such Governor to make oath to his belief of the utility of such measure, and an acknowledgement of his sole responsibility for its consequences. This amendment was made on the principle already mentioned of the necessity of a strong efficient Government in India. 'Tis a general truth in the character of mankind, that great situations make great minds, especially when men are deprived of the shelter of divided responsibility, and can look in their own individual persons to the pride of good actions, or the disgrace of ill ones.

Let it, however, be remembered, that this observation is not an argument in favour of arbitrary Government, but rather one of the many proofs of the advantages of a free Constitution, which is enabled on great emergencies to delegate the necessary degree of discretionary power, because it can provide a responsibility adequate to the importance of the trust.

Such are the principal outlines of that statute, which was one of the first great public acts of the last Parliament. It was a measure indispensable in the circumstances  
of

of the empire, a duty in the Legislature which had been often recommended to them by the Sovereign. It became the virtue and the dignity of Parliament to interpose in this vigorous and coercive manner for the interests of the state, as well as for the sake of public justice and humanity ; it was consonant to its wisdom to endeavour to accomplish those ends, without forgetting the regard that is due to the franchises of individuals, and the great political rights of the community.

Amidst the weakness and corruption of the India Company's Government, its finances could not but suffer a consequent derangement. Its situation was held out by the supporters of Mr. Fox's India Bill to be so desperate, as to amount to bankruptcy ; and indeed, even in the sober colouring of truth, the view of its affairs was so gloomy, that it required an immediate and vigorous exertion of parliamentary interposition and assistance to redeem them. To provide for the discharge of its debt, and at the same time not to sink its credit by a sudden reduction of its dividends, required an arrangement of its future transactions,

and a rigid adherence to its future economy, which the operation of the regulating law, and the strictest attention of the Board, which it had established, could only effect. But in great concerns like those of the East-India Company, the reform as well as the abuse in detail produces a result which always exceed common expectation. By the effect of the salutary measures adopted for the restoration of its affairs, the Company has been enabled so effectually to retrieve them, as to be in a condition to provide for the payment of its debt, and to increase its trading capital to the extent which the *Commutation act* has necessarily occasioned. The confidence of the Public in the present situation of the Company, and in the present management of Indian affairs, is best ascertained by the present rate of its stock, which from 120 per cent. at which it stood before the passing of the act of 1784, is now at 188, even amidst the uncertain events of a distant and expensive war. The events of that war, (occurring indeed out of the period to which this *review* particularly applies) shew in a very pointed manner

✓ manner the effects of the present management of India on the revenues of the Company. Notwithstanding the immense exertions that have been made, and the very great expence attending them, an expence swelled beyond all probable calculation by untoward and unlooked-for accidents, the treasury of the Company in India is able to answer every exigency of the war, without disappointing its mercantile investments.

^ This department of finance, though originally arising out of the management of a Commercial Company, may now be fairly reckoned a national one. Parliament considers it as such, and expects it to be annually laid before them, not only in the arithmetical result prescribed by the bill hereafter to be mentioned, but with that particular detail which is open to examination and canvass.

This expectation indeed did not so much arise from Parliament itself, as it was suggested to them by the laudable practice of the gentleman who presides at the Board of Control,

There

There was indeed, as I have noticed above, in the construction, as there is in the conduct of the Board of Control, a principle of pure and disinterested management, which naturally led to economical arrangements. A province was assigned to it separate from that of the former managers of India so frequently censured, in which immediate advantage and immediate patronage were often at war with the great and permanent interests of the Company and the empire. The situation of the members of the Board of Control is one which presents objects as an inducement to the discharge of their duty, capable of furnishing the highest possible gratification to an honourable ambition; on the other hand, the proportion of patronage and the means of abuse will be found to be so inconsiderable, that even in the most unfavourable view of human nature, they can hardly be thought to operate as a temptation in the opposite scale. ✓

This subject being very much connected with the debates respecting the powers intended to be vested by the India Bill of 1784 in the Board of Control, which took



✓ place on occasion of the *declaratory bill* brought into Parliament in 1788, it may be proper, though not in the order of time, to take notice here of the proceedings on that declaratory law.

✓ On the alarm occasioned by the disturbances in Holland, the Directors of the India Company had concerted with Government to send out to India four regiments of the King's forces, which were to be transported in the ships of the Company, and the expences incident to which were to be defrayed out of its revenue. But when the Dutch business was settled, and affairs had resumed their former pacific appearance, the Directors, with that œconomy which, in mercantile men, perhaps sometimes supersedes foresight, declined burthening their military establishment with what they conceived an unnecessary reinforcement. The Board of Control, who had the best authority for believing the proposed augmentation to be essential to the safety of the Indian territories, insisted on sending the regiments by their own authority, in virtue of the powers conferred on them by the act of 1784. But



doubts having arisen on the construction of that act, and opinions of very respectable weight in the law having been given on the side of the Directors, it was judged proper to sanction the measure by the interposition of Parliament; and the Minister accordingly brought in a bill “ for  
 “ removing any doubts respecting the  
 “ powers of the Commissioners for the  
 “ affairs of India, to direct that the ex-  
 “ pence of raising, transporting, and main-  
 “ taining such troops as may be judged  
 “ necessary for the security of the British  
 “ possessions in the East Indies, should be  
 “ defrayed out of the revenues arising from  
 “ the said territories and possessions.”

This measure was immediately represented as an attempt to acquire power of a dangerous extent; and the recollection of the strong and violent provisions of the bill of 1783, while it made the Public awake to every impression of this nature, was a motive for opposition to canvass the present bill with all the acrimony which the disappointment and unpopularity of their own measure naturally inspired. In this question there was more than the ordinary

dinary object of resistance to administration; it was the contest of rival pretensions, on a subject which had thrown the one party out of power, and invested the other with their present authority.

Against the principle of the bill it was contended, that a *declaratory* law cannot supply the omissions, or enlarge the provisions, of the original statute which it is meant to explain; for this would be to declare what never existed. Parliament, by passing such a declaratory law, usurps in its own cause a judicial power to which it is only entitled on an obvious ambiguity of expression in the statute to be explained, or the clashing of judicial decisions in the courts. Let this be called an enacting law, and the absurdity of its title at least would be avoided. But whatever name it assumed, it was equally (said the opposers of the measure) a violent and unjust attack upon the rights of the East-India Company. It went to the annihilation of the power of that Company as much as the bill of 1783, against which so much clamour had been raised, but it did that insidiously and indirectly which the other meant

meant to do in an open and manly manner.

“ This bill, they argued, gives to the Board of Control complete power over the whole revenue of India; under the pretence of providing for the safety of their territories, that Board may employ what force it pleases; apply the revenues to the maintenance of that force, and so disappoint the Company of its necessary investments. This virtually goes to the control of their commerce, which, it was expressly declared, the bill of 1784 was to leave at the absolute disposal of the Company. It gives to the Board all the patronage which the disposal of the revenue creates, all the power which that necessarily infers; power in the worst possible way, without responsibility.”

“ In a constitutional view, it was urged, besides this enormous patronage, which had in the act of 1783 been deprecated as a means of overthrowing the balance of the Constitution, there was in the present bill an accession to the power of the Crown of the most alarming kind, a power of maintaining what troops it pleased in India without the consent of Parliament. That,

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in the case in question, the sending those regiments to India would be attended with the most hurtful effects to the service there, by the offence which it could not fail to give to the officers of the Company, under whom their arms had hitherto triumphed over the numerous enemies with which their territories were surrounded. If the justice of their claims was not listened to, let the danger of disregarding them be considered. Let it be remembered, that to such discontents in the French army the ruin of their affairs in India might be imputed; and that there were not wanting instances of the most serious danger to ourselves from the operation of such discontents in our own army."

In defence of the bill it was urged, " that it only went to declare that power which the former law had undoubtedly meant to lodge in that Board which it constituted for the control and superintendence of Indian affairs, and which power the Board of Control had accordingly exercised since the earliest period of its institution. That Board, in its very establishment under the act of 1784, had been  
meant

meant and declared to be *an active and efficient institution*. But if it were to exercise the crippled and imperfect jurisdiction which it was now contended was only meant by that act to be given it, its activity would be useless, and its efficiency would be destroyed. The Commissioners were responsible for the safety of the territorial possessions, for the political government of India; they must therefore have the disposal of the revenue arising out of the provinces applicable to their defence and security. Of all powers, it was said, this is the most necessary to the Board, because it is a control of what was most likely to be faulty in the management of the company. Immediate profit and emolument is the natural object of trading companies; but the Board of Control must not forget that the defence of a country is more necessary than its opulence, and must provide for the first of these objects, if they shall happen to interfere, in preference to the latter. The Directors indeed might be naturally supposed, in the present situation of the Company, to have an additional motive for preferring investment to security;

rity, in the view of the approaching expi-  
 ration of their charter ; but the great use  
 of the Board of Control was, to look to  
 the permanent interests of the empire, and  
 not to barter national security for commer-  
 cial emolument. For attaining this secu-  
 rity, the measure of sending out the regi-  
 ments in question was necessary ; nobody  
 could say how pressing that necessity was ;  
 entrusted as that Board was with the poli-  
 tical interest of the country and the nation,  
 with the safety of provinces so essential to  
 both, was it to wait the slow progress of  
 judicial decision, and suffer meanwhile the  
 territories of the Company to be lost or  
 endangered ? If interference with the reve-  
 nues of India in the Board of Control was  
 illegal, and an usurpation of the rights of  
 the Company, it was now for the first  
 time that it was discovered to be so. That  
 ✓ interference had benefited the Company  
 many crores of rupees annually ; it had  
 re-established their credit abroad ; it had  
 furnished the means of paying a large part  
 of their debts at home ; it had given secu-  
 rity to the land-holders in India. As early  
 as the year 1785 it had prevented a mutiny  
 in



in their army by applying the revenue in the first instance to the payment of the troops, in preference to all other demands. Even in a mercantile view it had benefited them essentially, because it had enabled them to increase their investments by the regulation of their affairs and an æconomical retrenchment in the expences of their establishment."

"As to the unconstitutional power which this bill was said to lodge in the Crown, it was argued, the idea was founded on a mistake. Every British soldier, wherever employed, is under the control of Parliament; and for the very regiments now in question the House of Commons had voted the estimates. The mode of raising those regiments was absolutely necessary towards the expedition with which they were required. The nomination of their officers was of course with the Crown; but the Crown had allowed to the Company one half of the appointments, a proportion as high as could reasonably be expected, when it was remembered, that there were 2800 officers on the half-pay list to be provided for,



many of whom had served with distinction in India, and helped to maintain and defend the territories of the Company."

The candour of the Minister in his defence of this declaratory bill made a strong impression on the House. He declared his own perfect conviction, "that the bill introduced by him in 1784, gave to the Board of Control the power which this bill declared, otherwise he should have thought himself blameable for bringing in a bill so inefficient and nugatory. But he would not stand on the question of construction; he called on the House to consider the operation and tendency of the bill; to look to every question it involved. Questions had been started on it, more important than the powers of the Board of Control, the conduct of the East-India Directors, or even the territorial acquisitions of the Company; questions affecting the Constitution of Great Britain, which he held paramount to all others. If there were in this bill, or in that of 1784, any principles hostile to the Constitution, better that this should be thrown out, and the other repealed, than that any such principles should be entertained.

tained by a British Legislature. But before such an alarm was taken, let the House consider its reality. This bill, he was decided in opinion, gave to the Crown no power to maintain an army in India independent of Parliament; if that were so, he would be the first to vote against it; but nothing appeared to him so mistaken a notion. Parliament voted every foldier in the army wherever employed; part of it was sent to India as it might be to any other part of the empire; but the control over its existence rested, and God forbid that it should ever cease to rest, with Parliament."

"With respect to the patronage said to be conferred by this bill, he must repeat, that the leading and anxious feature of *his* bill had been to give superintendance and control, but to withhold patronage. For remedy of the abuses in India, and for the future prevention of them, there must be an accession of power somewhere; but his great object from the beginning had been, to give the Board of Control every power and faculty necessary for those salutary purposes, but without the patronage, of which

✓ which he knew the danger to the Constitution. Every appearance of that danger, however, was too alarming to him, and he hoped to every Member of the House, not to be provided against by every possible means. He begged therefore that gentlemen would sift the bill in this respect to the bottom, and he would thankfully receive any provisions against such danger that could be proposed, let them come from what quarter of the House, or be delivered with what asperity of language they might. Himself would in the mean time propose some clauses which he thought would effectually remove such apprehension either from the power of the Crown, or the patronage of the Commissioners."

✓ Three clauses were accordingly added to the bill by the Committee ; 1st, for limiting the number of the King's troops and the Company's European forces in India ; 2d, for preventing the increase of any salary in India, or the payment of any extraordinary allowance from the Company's revenue there, by the Board of Control, without the consent of the Directors, and an account laid before Parliament ; 3d, for  
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the Directors to lay every year before Parliament an account of the annual produce of the revenues, the disbursements and debts of the Company. ✓

It may be gratifying to the Public to recollect the particulars of this discussion, and to compare them with the succeeding events in India. This augmentation of our force fortunately took place before any occasion arose of actually putting our strength to a trial; the war which has since broke out, and the events which have attended it, are a sufficient proof of the necessity of these precautions; and the prospect of final success may principally be ascribed to that state of complete preparation which enabled us to meet this sudden emergency with a promptitude and vigour before unexampled. Enough of the administration of India is now known to qualify us to judge of the effects of the power of the Board of Control, which was represented as so dangerous; by the exercise of that power the Company has been enabled to attain its present state of growing wealth and credit, and to furnish those resources the extent of which has been so fully manifested in  
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the operations of the present war. As to the fears of the effect of this bill on the Company's army in India, they will best be answered by its late services; by its discipline and its valour.

Previous to those permanent laws for the regulation of the affairs of the India Company, Parliament had frequently taken occasional and temporary measures with a view to correct the abuses which had occurred in the management of its political and territorial concerns. Among these was the appointment of Committees, particularly of the *secret* and *select* Committees in 1781, which had investigated with unwearied assiduity the subject of Indian Government, and had laid before the House reports containing a very large and interesting body of evidence on that subject. One of the members of the select Committee was a gentleman not more admired for the extent of his information, the depth of his knowledge, and the brilliancy of his talents, than respected for the virtues of his private character. In the course of his enquiries in this department,

partment, he had conceived a very strong and decided opinion, that the late Governor General of Bengal had been guilty of great official malversation, and had often signified to the House, in very pointed terms, his intention of making the various abuses of that gentleman's Government the subject of parliamentary enquiry. Some of the friends of Mr. Hastings, with a zealous attachment to his person, and a perfect confidence in the merits of his administration, had frequently pressed this gentleman to come forward with his threatened accusations, which they said Mr. Hastings, now returned from his Government, was extremely desirous to meet. Mr. *Burke*, thus called upon, at last brought forth the charge he had meditated; and on the 17th of February, 1786, (after having read a resolution of the House in 1782, which contained a censure on certain measures of the Governor General, and declared the opinion of the House of Commons that he ought to be recalled, he proceeded to move for certain papers to be laid before the House, on which he meant to found an impeachment against Mr. Haf-



✓ tings, for his various delinquencies in India. He afterwards collected his charges into one paper, which was laid before the House, and circulated through the nation.

^ The nation, though never deficient in a sense of justice and humanity, was in this case favourably disposed to the person whom these charges held forth as a delinquent. The impression of the vigour and ability of his Government in India, during a crisis very important to this country, had been pretty generally received. He had been continued in his Government there, subsequent to those resolutions in 1782, which his accuser had assumed as the foundation of his charges; and it was a prevailing opinion among men most conversant with India, that his conduct in that Government had extricated this country from the various difficulties and dangers of a war which had threatened the very existence of the British power in that quarter of the globe. Success is too often the criterion of the people's opinion. In this case, they compared the success of Mr. Hastings in India, with the national disasters in another hemisphere, where the enormous corrup-

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tion and abuse of individuals had not been redeemed by a single advantage to the Public. The character of Mr. Hastings's accuser, though highly respectable for its virtue and its ability, was tinged with a degree of enthusiasm of which the Public was disposed to doubt the discretion or the justness. In pursuit of a favourite measure, with all its intrinsic worth, its native energy, and its acquired endowments, the mind of Mr. Burke was often a less safe guide of public opinion than those of much inferior men. Its qualities were frequently carried to an excess, in which they lost their estimation and their use. The warmth of his feelings sometimes betrayed him into what had the effects of inhumanity, and his sense of right pushed to an extreme, became injustice.

Diffident of the warmth of his accusation, and inclined to give Mr. Hastings credit for the successful issue of his Government, without examining too nicely the detail of his conduct, the Public looked to the impeachment as a measure which the House of Commons was not likely to adopt. They expected Mr. Hastings to

have answered with that general reference to the success of his administration which themselves were accustomed to make: “ I  
 “ preserved for the Company and the na-  
 “ tion their Asiatic dominions, when af-  
 “ failed by a combination of powerful and  
 “ determined enemies; amidst a war in  
 “ most other places disastrous, my exer-  
 “ tions repelled the attacks of their ene-  
 “ mies, maintained the reputation of your  
 “ army and the security of your posses-  
 “ sions, and finally accomplished that peace  
 “ which laid the foundation of the ex-  
 “ tended commerce and the increasing re-  
 “ venue of your East-India Company. If  
 “ in the attainment of these great and ar-  
 “ duous ends, some irregularities may  
 “ have occurred, which the nature of  
 “ the country, the extent and multipli-  
 “ city of objects, or the exigency and the  
 “ pressure of the time may have occa-  
 “ sioned, these are the tax which is com-  
 “ monly paid for the efficiency and vigour  
 “ of public measures. These I leave to  
 “ your judgment, and abide the censure  
 “ which you shall think they deserve. It  
 “ may perhaps blunt your censure, it will  
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“ at least alleviate my feeling of it, to re-  
 “ flect, that by those means, in which  
 “ my accusers may find imperfections and  
 “ error, I have saved an empire to my  
 “ country:”

Such was not the kind of defence on which Mr. Hastings chose to rely. He stepped from behind that shield which the opinion of his services and the gratitude of the Public might have spread before him, and challenged an enquiry into every separate transaction which his accuser had detailed against him. He gave to the House of Commons and to the Public a particular and elaborate answer to every article of the charge which Mr. Burke had exhibited. That answer was unfortunate in some points, and as to these Mr. Hastings was afterwards obliged to depart from it. This threw a discredit on his defence in general, while the mode of it remained as objectionable as before. It obliged the House of Commons to pronounce on each separate individual charge on which Mr. Hastings was thus at issue with his accuser. After an assiduous and impartial examination of the evidence, their decision was unfavour-

favourable on many of those articles ; and in consequence the impeachment was voted.

That impeachment is still depending, and in such a stage of the business it were improper to enter more particularly into its nature or its progress. It has produced one important consequence in settling the constitutional point of the *non-abatement of an impeachment by a dissolution of Parliament* ; a point which it is for the honour of the times, that the Ministers of the Crown warmly contended to establish. The adherents of Mr. Hastings, with a friendship almost always misapplied, a zeal almost always mistaken, resisted the continuance of a proceeding, by which alone the honour of that gentleman could be cleared from the attacks which had been made upon it ; and on some subsequent occasions seemed to resent the opinion which the immediate officers of the Crown had given on that subject, so much to the honour of their unbiassed integrity. On the other hand, the long continuance and enormous expence of this prosecution have impressed the

the Public with an idea of the hardship of the proceeding by impeachment, and brought somewhat of odium and disrepute on this great prerogative of the people. But it is not the less salutary in its existence, though in this particular instance it may have been a hardship on the individual. That it should be sparingly exerted is equally suitable to its dignity and its justice; but that it should be capable of exertion, is important to the purity of public trust, to the safety and the freedom of the community.

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## SECTION II. *p 39-76*

### TRADE.

*Irish Propositions.—Commercial Treaty with France.—Consolidation of the Customs.—Trade with America.—Comparative State of Trade and Navigation.*

ANOTHER part of the empire which, equally with India, seemed to require the  
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immediate attention of Government, was Ireland. At the period of distress and embarrassment which Great Britain felt during the course of the late unfortunate war, Ireland had wrung from our weakness or our fear, what our justice should have formerly allowed her, a participation of the benefits of commerce with foreign countries, and with our colonies. But the commercial intercourse between this country and Ireland was liable to a variety of restrictions and prohibitions, of which Ireland then loudly complained, as tending to create an inequality in the encouragement of the national industry of the respective countries; and which inequality she threatened to take measures of an unfriendly sort to overcome. To remove this ground of complaint; to adjust the commercial intercourse between the two countries on a fair and equitable footing; to unite both kingdoms, if possible, by reciprocal advantage, and to take away that sort of mutual jealousy and alienation which the prohibitions against a free interchange of the commodities and manufactures of each necessarily tended to create, were objects which had  
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been particularly recommended to Parliament from the Throne, and which every person wishing well to the happiness of either country could not fail to desire. With a view to attain these objects, certain propositions had been brought into the Irish Parliament by His Majesty's Ministers in that country, on which a set of resolutions had been adopted by the Irish Parliament, which were soon after submitted to the consideration of the British House of Commons for its acquiescence in the general measures they suggested. The basis of these resolutions was, as the first of them expressed, the extension and encouragement of the trade between Great Britain and Ireland, so important to the general interests of the empire ; and a settlement and regulation of the intercourse and commerce of the two countries on permanent and equitable principles for the mutual benefit of both. The particular propositions arising out of this general principle were briefly as follow :

That foreign articles should be importable from either kingdom into the other under the same regulations and duties as



when imported directly from the place of their growth or manufacture.

That on articles of the produce or manufacture of either country, no prohibition should exist to prevent their importation into the other country, and that if subject to a duty, such duty should be equal in both countries. That for this purpose, articles charged in either kingdom with an internal duty on the manufacture, or a duty on the material of which it is composed, should be charged on importation from either kingdom into the other with a duty equal to such internal tax on the manufacture, or to an amount to countervail the duty on the material.

That in order to give permanency to the settlement, no prohibition or additional duties should hereafter be imposed in either country on the importation of any articles of the produce or manufacture of the other, except what might be necessary to balance the duties on internal consumption before mentioned; and that no such prohibition or additional duty should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom on the exportation of any native article to the other, except  
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where prohibitions already exist which are not reciprocal, or duties which are not equal. And the same regulation was adopted to equalize bounties.

That the importation of foreign articles into either kingdom should be so regulated from time to time as to afford a preference to the importation of similar articles, the produce or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland.

In return for the benefits which she was supposed to receive from this commercial regulation, Ireland agreed to contribute towards the naval force of the empire, whatever sum the *hereditary revenue* of that kingdom should produce beyond 656,000*l.*, which was its amount at the time.

Between the time of the first introduction of these propositions in the House of Commons, and the day to which their consideration was adjourned, a report was laid before the House from a Committee of the Privy Council, (now the only substitute for the Board of Trade, abolished by Mr. Burke's reform bill,) who had been assiduously employed in considering the effects of these propositions, and in

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examining

examining many of the principal merchants and manufacturers with regard to their probable tendency.

Mean time the natural jealousy of trade, even exclusive of the alarm which party opposition might be supposed to excite, had prompted several meetings of persons interested in the articles of commerce and manufacture to which the propositions related; in which meetings their effects on the home and foreign markets for such articles were canvassed. Many of the principal manufacturers were examined before the Committee of the House in addition to the evidence which had before been taken by the Committee of Privy Council. It is but justice to those gentlemen to remark, that most of them delivered themselves with a candour and liberality, as to the probable competition of Ireland, beyond what has been generally allowed to the prejudices of professional character; though in some instances perhaps there appeared a tincture of that spirit of monopoly which dreads any chance, however distant, of the participation of others in its profits.

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From the information thus obtained, many new lights were thrown upon a subject of a very extensive and complicated kind; and the Minister was enabled, at the distance of several months from the first introduction of the propositions, to lay before the House a set of resolutions formed, with considerable alterations and corrections, with respect to the detail of the general propositions transmitted from Ireland. These consisted principally in the following particulars :

A stipulation for the exclusive trade of the East-India Company, by Ireland's being debarred from trading to any of the countries beyond the *Cape of Good Hope* to the *Straits of Magellan*; giving however certain advantages to Ireland from the commerce of that Company, by allowing it to freight ships from that country, to send its vessels to Ireland in their voyages from Britain, and to take on board there the commodities and manufactures of that kingdom.

A security for the execution of navigation laws which Great Britain should find it necessary to enact for the increase and encourage-

encouragement of her marine, by stipulating that the Legislature of Ireland should pass the like laws in order to impose the same restraints, and confer the same benefits, on the subjects of both kingdoms.

A protection against introducing foreign spirits, that is, spirits not the produce of our own colonies, into Great Britain from Ireland.

Certain provisions for the security of the revenue in both countries, by the use of bonds, cockets, and other custom-house instruments, in the trade between the countries; and of plantation certificates for West-India commodities imported from Ireland into Great Britain.

An exception of corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits, from the free importation stipulated for the articles of the one country into the other; restrictions on these articles being deemed necessary to be allowed in time of scarcity, incidental to either country. A stipulation was likewise annexed to the proposition for a reduction of the duty in the kingdom where it was highest, to its amount in the kingdom where it was lowest, provided such reduction should

not bring it down below the rate of 10½ per cent.

An equalization in the two countries of duties and burthens on the imports from, and exports to, the British colonies in the West Indies and America, or settlements on the coast of Africa; and a like equalization on goods imported from the North-American states.

To these propositions, brought before Parliament in this amended form, a very violent opposition was made. A variety of objections were urged against those which related to foreign commerce as well as those which regulated the mutual intercourse between the two countries. “The former, it was said, exposed this country to the danger of having the produce of her own colonies brought to her market through the medium of Ireland, which would thus reap the advantage of being the carrier for Great Britain if she did not even import them on her own capital. In the last case she could send her manufactures to the colonies cheaper than England, and by exchanging them for colony produce, undersell this country. That there  
was



was a farther and still greater danger from the smuggling of foreign colony produce from Ireland into Great Britain under colour of its being the growth or produce of British colonies. That by these propositions we entrusted the execution of our navigation laws to Ireland, whose attention to their observance we could not expect, and whose encouragement to their violation there was reason to fear. That the guard we meant to provide for these laws in the new propositions, by which it was conditioned that the Irish Parliament should pass similar laws for Ireland to those which Great Britain should hereafter find it necessary to enact for the benefit of her marine, was a stipulation which the Irish would never agree to, as it would in fact be a renunciation of that right to legislate for themselves which they had so nobly struggled for and obtained. Against the other part of the propositions which regarded the interchange of commodities between the two countries, it was urged, that the cheapness of provisions and low price of labour in Ireland would give a decided advantage to that country in the sale of such

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commodities. That an emigration of our artisans and manufacturers was on these accounts a danger reasonably to be feared, and that by the encouragement which these propositions held forth to Ireland, we risked the existence of our manufactures, and that very great internal revenue which the state draws from their produce.”

“ The compensation, it was argued, which Great Britain was to receive for the boons now granted to Ireland was nugatory in the extreme. The hereditary revenue of that kingdom at present yielded little more than one half of the sum now stipulated to be first appropriated to Ireland, after which Britain was only to receive the surplus. That this surplus, if ever it amounted to any thing, would be received by Great Britain in a manner adverse to the wise and salutary guards of her Constitution, which granted money for the executive purposes of Government only by way of temporary supply, and not for a permanent and independent period.”

In vindication of this measure, and of its general tendency, it was argued, “ that it was only a necessary supplement to those

measures which had been formerly adopted for the purpose of more closely uniting and securing the connection between the two countries, so necessary towards the safety and prosperity of both. Parts of the same empire, Great Britain and Ireland were not to look on the growing prosperity of each other with the unfriendly aspect of foreign rivalry. Connected as they were, it was not to be assumed that whatever one country gained was lost by the other; on the contrary, the fair and equal extension of their industry and commerce would in most cases be the mutual advantage of both countries, and increase the separate wealth, population, and power, of each, as well as the aggregate belonging to both nations jointly, as forming the two great limbs of the British empire."

In the detail of the propositions it was contended, " that most of the objections on the score of foreign commerce, and the intercourse of Ireland with the British colonies, were founded on inattention to the present situation of that kingdom in those particulars. Under the laws at present subsisting, Ireland could freely trade with  
every

every foreign state, supply them with her produce and manufactures, and bring home theirs in return. She had a similar privilege of a direct trade with the British colonies, and could supply the British market with the produce of those colonies in Irish ships freighted immediately from the colonies to Great Britain. The only advantage therefore which Ireland was to derive from the present propositions in this respect was, that she could land colony cargoes in Ireland, and thence export to Britain the surplus which herself did not consume, for the chance of an eventual market there. It was not likely that by this circuitous trade she could undersell Great Britain in the British market; the only chance she had for an advantageous sale there was, the extravagant monopoly price which colony produce may sometimes bear in this country, of which the reduction is a measure expedient as well as just on the truest principles of policy and of commerce. That as to the danger of foreign colony produce being smuggled through Ireland into this country, besides that the risk would be run only for the chance of the surplus of the

Irish consumption, it was a double risk, first, against the provisions of the Irish, and next, against those of the British revenue laws, which was not near so likely a method for the smuggler to practise as that which at present was open to him, of smuggling articles from foreign colonies into our islands, and thence importing them under false certificates into this kingdom. That the objection, of these propositions trusting the execution of our navigation laws to Ireland, applied to the acts already passed in the 20th and 22d year of his present Majesty's reign, and yet that we had heard of no complaint of any hurtful relaxation of those laws by the Irish officers. To the objection, on the other hand, that Ireland could not be expected to consent to the adoption of our future regulations for the benefit of our marine, because that would be to allow our Parliament to legislate for Ireland, it was answered, that the very reference to the Parliament of Ireland made in the proposition alluded to was an acknowledgement of the independant legislation of that country ; but that the stipulation to adopt similar laws to those which this country

country should enact, was a condition necessary to the common safety and protection of the empire, which depended on the proper support of her naval force; and that it was no more a dependant and absolute obligation on the Irish Parliament than several of the other reciprocal obligations contained in this agreement, or than any stipulation by treaty between two absolutely independant states."

In reply to the objections against the second part of the propositions, relating to the intercourse between the two countries, it was contended in general, "that the nominal cheapness of labour, and the low price of many articles of provisions in one country, was amply compensated by the superiority of skill and of capital in the other. That there was a distinction between the *rate of wages* and the *rate of labour*; and though the first might be lower in Ireland, yet in fact the last was rather cheaper in Britain, as had appeared from the evidence of a principal Irish manufacturer. That the removal of an established manufacture was every where a matter of the greatest difficulty; and that Ireland

was



was in a situation by which that difficulty was exceedingly increased. That the duty of  $10\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. was a fair protection for the home manufacture, because it was unwise in either country to apply its labour or its capital to any manufacture in which the other could undersell it with the burthen of  $10\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. superadded to the necessary expence of carrying it to the market of the neighbouring kingdom. That of the articles at present prohibited from Ireland, or of which the importation is restrained by high duties, the principal are such as England possesses great advantage in, from her having the raw material cheaper or more at command; and that with regard to the others, the equalizing duties in proportion to our excise on the manufacture, would fully protect us from any bad effects which might arise from their introduction into Britain."

The compensation to Britain by an appropriation of the excess of the Irish hereditary revenue, beyond a given sum, to the support of the naval force of the empire, was defended from the charges made against it in both the points of view above stated.

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“ It must from its very nature increase, (it was said), in proportion to the prosperity of Ireland, which she was thus to recompense Great Britain for promoting. The permanent grant of it was a necessary exchange for the permanent benefits it compensated; and being subject to the application of Parliament, could never tend to that unconstitutional relaxation of the checks on the executive power which was held forth by the opposers of the measure, as a danger to be apprehended from its appropriation.”

Such were the principal arguments urged on either side in a question equally delicate and momentous to both countries. After a discussion of several months the propositions were assented to by a large majority of both Houses of the British Parliament; and a bill founded upon them was brought in, and read a first time before the close of the Session of 1785.

It remained to procure the assent of the Parliament of Ireland to those propositions now returned to them with the amendments deemed necessary to secure an equality in the agreement to Great Britain. In the Parliament of Ireland they were  
opposed

opposed as strenuously as they had been by the minority in that of Britain. The commercial mischiefs to be apprehended from them to Ireland were now argued as decidedly on that side of the water; as the disadvantages which they were to produce to the sister kingdom had been held forth on this. The pride of newly-acquired power rejected any thing which looked like an infringement on the national independence of Ireland. Great offence was taken at the supposed attempt to trench on the legislative authority of her Parliament; and the appropriation of the surplus of her hereditary revenue, low as it stood in the present period, was considered as equally derogatory to her dignity, and disadvantageous to her interest. The order for bringing in a bill for carrying the propositions into effect was carried by so small a majority, that the officers of the Crown in Ireland did not think it proper to persist in a measure repugnant to the wishes of so considerable a part of the representatives of the people.

Such was the reception of those propositions in Ireland. It had been imagined  
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by men who had considered this subject with the calmness of philosophy and experience; that any measure which connected Ireland with a country so much more advanced in civilization, in arts, in commerce, and manufactures, as Great Britain, would be received with avidity. It is no part of the plan of this work to enter into an invidious detail of the circumstances which counteracted the natural influence of these considerations; from whatever causes they proceeded, it must be the deliberate judgment of history, that they obstructed a measure, the consequences of which would have been highly beneficial to Ireland as well as to Great Britain.

Another measure adopted by the late Parliament, founded on the same liberal principle, but of a more fortunate issue than the preceding, was the commercial treaty with France.

National prejudices, in conjunction with those of commerce, had hitherto shut the markets of France and England respectively against many of the commodities of the other. Between those countries there

was a war of prohibitions and high duties, which, in most articles of their mutual consumption, threw the trade into the hands of smugglers. The publications of an author, in whose mind, beyond that of any writer of his time, was genius chastened by wisdom, and wisdom enlightened by knowledge, had changed in a great measure the opinions of mankind on the subject of commercial restrictions, and shown how much was to be gained by restoring to trade its natural freedom, by which the surplus commodities of one country could be fairly exchanged for those of another. France and England felt in a particular manner the justice of his doctrines; and it was an article in the peace of 1783, that the two countries should take measures for settling a commercial treaty between them.

In pursuance of this agreement, Mr. Eden was dispatched to Paris in the beginning of the year 1786, to negotiate a treaty of navigation and commerce with France. That treaty was concluded on the 20th of September in that year. Particular notice was taken of it in His Majesty's

jeſty's ſpeech on opening the ſeſſion in January, 1787; and it was ſoon after laid before Parliament for the purpoſe of their taking ſuch meaſures as might be neceſſary for carrying it into effect.

The proviſions of this treaty were calculated to take off thoſe reſtraints which the two countries had heretofore mutually impoſed on their commercial intercourſe with each other—to give to the ſubjects of either country that protection for their perſons and properties which is dictated by the liberal humanity of modern times—to eſtabliſh a 'Tariff' to fix the rate of duties, which for the moſt part was not higher than 12 per cent., on the importation of thoſe articles of the produce or manufacture of the reſpective kingdoms which were moſt likely to be the leading objects of their commerce—to put on the footing of the moſt favoured nations the goods not particulariſed in that 'Tariff'—and to avoid by ſtipulations of a friendly ſort the occaſions of miſunderſtanding and quarrel, which might chance to ariſe in the navigation or commerce of either power with other countries.



In the discussion which this treaty met with in Parliament, considerable objection was made to it in a political view, as tending to throw Great Britain into the arms of France, and to blunt that wholesome jealousy which this country had always entertained of her rival nation. “ France, it was maintained, was the unalterable political enemy of Great Britain, and indeed the political enemy of the liberties of every state of Europe. Amidst the levity and mutability of her national manners, her cabinet had pursued an uniform invariable system of universal dominion. In this system she had been checked and baffled by the opposition of England, whose power had often rescued the liberties of Europe from the attacks of her restless ambition. It was unwise therefore to agree to any measures tending to abate our national distrust and jealousy of France, which had so often afforded a barrier against her encroachments on the liberty and independence of the nations around her.”

In a commercial view the treaty was opposed as a rash and unadvised alteration of a system under which this country had attained

attained a very high degree of eminence and prosperity. “ The great advantages we possessed ought not, it was argued, to be staked against the prospect of distant and speculative benefits. In our commercial intercourse with France, we are to take her produce which is exclusively hers, and in which, from soil and climate, we never can rival her. But in the articles of our manufactures, she has already made considerable progress, and in a little time will be able to enter into competition with this country. The Tariff established between the two nations, would, it was observed, cause a great and immediate diminution of our revenue by the lowering of the duties on the staple commodities of France, her wine and brandy, and the consequent abatement that must be made on the rum of our own colonies, and the wines of Spain and Portugal.”

The danger to which this treaty with France exposed our commerce with other countries, and particularly with Portugal, was strongly urged by the members in opposition. The importance of a rigid adherence to the Methuen treaty, was argued  
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from the advantages which it afforded us in a great annual balance of trade in our favour, besides the acquisition of two millions of pounds of cotton, the raw material of one of our most valuable manufactures.

The arguments for the measure were drawn from the relative situation of the two countries, which pointed out, it was said, in the strongest manner, the advantages to be derived to both from a mutual exchange of their respective commodities. “ By nature France was much more richly endowed than Britain ; but the equality of our laws, and the freedom of our Government, gave to our enterprises an energy, to our industry an animation, which fully balanced these advantages of soil and climate. France had her produce to send to Britain ; Britain her manufactures to barter with France. Such interchange, it was argued, was peculiarly favourable to Britain, who obtains a market of 24 millions of people in exchange for one of 8 millions. France gained a market for her produce, which employed in its preparation but a few hands, gave little encouragement

ment to the navigation, and comparatively but little increase to the revenue of the state. Britain opened a market for her manufacture which employed in their immediate operation a great number of her people, and in their distant effects, the importation of raw materials and consumption of various commodities, paying internal duties, contributed most extensively both to the public force and the public revenue."

" In its political aspect, it was argued, the treaty promised that most essential advantage to both nations, the promotion of a friendly intercourse between them, and the removal of that sort of prescriptive animosity which had been the cause of so many wars destructive alike to both countries. The doctrine of unalterable hostility between two nations was reprobated as the weakness of vulgar prejudice, neither founded on the experience of nations, nor the history of man. But even if this argument, implying a satire on our species, and a libel on political institutions, were allowed, the present treaty would not be affected by it. It gave up none of  
our

our political power to France ; it weakened none of our national energy ; it lessened none of our national revenues ; on the contrary, as it increased our commerce, it necessarily added to both."

" The danger of an interference with our commerce with other nations, it was said, was perfectly unfounded. The instance of Portugal so much insisted on by the opposers of the treaty, did not in the smallest degree apply. Explicit provision was made for the fulfilment of our engagements with Portugal. The interests of that country and Great Britain are reciprocal, and therefore it is to be presumed that the good sense of both countries will attend to them. But if there had appeared on the part of Portugal any inclination to deviate from the spirit of the Methuen treaty, the ministers of England would be more likely to obtain a fair and full execution of it, having this commercial arrangement with France in their hands, than they could expect to obtain without it.

" The probable effects of this treaty on our revenue were argued as precisely opposite to those which the members in opposition

tion predicted. When it was considered that the present high duties on our French articles of consumption threw by much the greatest part of the trade in those articles into the hands of the smuggler, from which France drew all the benefit which she would do on a lawful importation, while we lost the whole produce of the duties due on such commodities, it was a well-warranted conclusion that our revenue would be increased, instead of being diminished, by the lowering of the duty on the articles specified\*.”

To the alledged danger to our manufactures a general answer was given, “that the manufacturers themselves, generally quick sighted and attentive to their interests, had, on this occasion, acquiesced in the provisions of the treaty; and several of them had indeed signified their approbation of the measure; as one calculated to increase and encourage the industry of this country.”

\* How this has turned out in experience, see afterwards under the subject of Finance.



In one of the debates on this treaty in the House of Commons, Mr. Burke expatiated, in that glowing language for which he is so conspicuous, on the advantages and influence of *British capital*. "The powers of this capital," he observed, "were irresistible in trade: it dominated, it ruled, it tyrannized in the market: it enticed the strong and controlled the weak." It could only be from party prepossession that a mind so penetrating and comprehensive as that of Mr. Burke did not see how strong an argument this afforded for that extension of the sphere and operation of this capital which was furnished by the treaty in question. His extravagant ingenuity suggested the danger arising from that sort of partnership which an open commercial intercourse might give to France in the English capital; and attributed to the French Councils the depth of such a design, for which they were content to allow to England some temporary advantage in the present commercial stipulations.

It was remarkable, that in the debates on the French treaty pointed reference was made

made by the minority to the *Irish Propositions*, and to the opinions of the manufacturers on that subject, from which they argued a similar danger to the British manufactures from the present measure, though the manufacturers themselves, tempted by the prospect of immediate advantage, had not come forward to state it. Administration, though they still contended that the objections against the Irish Propositions were ill founded, endeavoured also to show the difference between the two cases, and to refute the analogy observed between them. That there were differences between the two cases must be allowed. On one hand, the Irish were to receive some advantages which the present treaty did not give to the French; and Great Britain had not in the proposed intercourse with Ireland the same prospect of an immediate and extensive market as in that with France. On the other hand, her close connection with her sister kingdom placed her communication with that country in a very different point of view; the benefits to be derived by Ireland flowed not, as might be argued of those to France,

in a rival or adverse channel, but would naturally tend to the general prosperity of the empire. But, to an impartial observer, the leading principles of both cases were the same; the extension of productive industry, and the intercourse of beneficial commerce between the two kingdoms. An impartial observer of the present time will argue from what are the effects of the French treaty to what would have been the effects of the Irish, the mutual advantage of both countries.

To the common eye, however, this mutual advantage is not always visible, and ancient prejudice does not easily give way to truths which contradict her habits of thinking, however demonstrative they may seem to wisdom or philosophy. It is, I believe, a fact pretty well known, that the cotton manufacturers of Normandy remonstrated with *M. de Vergennes* on the ruinous effects which the proposed Commercial Treaty with England would have on their establishments. That sagacious statesman replied, that if the stipulated duty of 12 per cent., added to the expences of transport on the English commodities, were not sufficient

sufficient to protect those of Normandy, it was a proof either that industry was wanting to the success of the latter, or that their industry was misapplied to an improper object.

A measure coeval and connected with the Commercial Treaty was the Bill for the *Consolidation* of the Customs, Excise, and Stamp Duties. The branches of those revenues, particularly of the Customs, were composed of such a number of minute and complicated imposts, which had been laid on at different times, as the necessities of those periods required, that to compute the total aggregate of duty on any article was a matter of much intricacy and difficulty, and no man who was not constantly employed in the practice was equal to it. This had thrown such computation and charge entirely into the hands of the officers of the revenue, on whom the merchants were, therefore, in a great measure, dependent for its accuracy; and from the same cause there was a sort of agency established in the former for the affairs of the latter,

ter, improper in their respective situations. The plan, therefore, which this bill adopted was to abolish those various and complicated branches, and to substitute in their stead one single duty on each article, equal in its amount to the total of such branches. By a reference to this single charge in the tables containing the different articles of merchandize, the duty due on each was instantly ascertained, and all the inconvenience, difficulty, and delay, so long felt and complained of in such business, were removed. The Public gained, on the whole, a small advantage by this measure, as on most of the articles where a fraction was found in the total of the branches the integer sum immediately above such fraction was adopted. This trifling addition was more than compensated to the trader by the facility which it afforded in the transaction.

This measure was so obviously expedient, that all parties concurred in its approbation. To a man conversant in the subject of revenue regulations it might perhaps suggest another, in some degree congenial to its spirit and tendency, a Consolidation



solidation of the *Laws*, as well as of the duties of the various departments of the public revenue. These are now so numerous and so complicated as to form one of the largest and most difficult parts of the national code, and from the various references with which each subsequent statute is loaded an obscurity and perplexity attends them, often embarrassing to the officer or oppressive to the trader in the execution of their provisions. The task of reducing these into a system, and forming a revenue code, simple and uniform in its exactments, would indeed be a business of considerable difficulty, and might not meet with so favourable a reception as that just mentioned from the different parties concerned in its effects. But it would certainly be a useful and not an impracticable task, and might be performed under the auspices of a vigorous and popular Administration.

Under the subject of Commercial Arrangements may be mentioned the regulations for the trade with America, which  
was



was one of the earliest proceedings of the Parliament of 1784 ; for this, in the new situation which the independence of America presented, it was necessary to provide in such a manner as to give to the trade of the country, and her still remaining colonies, every advantage which intercourse with the American States could produce, yet so regulated as to increase the marine of Great Britain, and to draw to the parent state those benefits which she had formerly bestowed on provinces now severed from the empire. The regulations for these purposes were first provided for by orders in Council, under authority of temporary acts of Parliament, and were afterwards, in 1788, settled by a permanent statute. These were an allowance of the immediate transportation of lumber (*i. e.* timber, barrel staves, and several other articles of the like nature, which are immediately necessary to the trade and manufacture of the West-India islands) from America to our islands, but that importation confined to British ships navigated by British subjects. The direct exportation of sugar and other articles of the produce of these

these islands is allowed to America, but under the same condition of its being carried in British vessels, conformably to the salutary principle of our navigation law. By these provisions, and the allowance of her bringing her produce to Great Britain in her own vessels, America has that degree of favour with this country which it seems so expedient to allow her, while the restriction which is certainly the most useful, or, as some later political œconomists maintain, the only useful, restriction in our commercial system, is kept up in favour of the marine of this country. The anxious provisions of our law for the encouragement of our navigation have been enforced by several statutes passed in this Parliament, containing regulations with regard to *shipping*, which seem to be formed on a very perfect knowledge of this great national object, without the severity which has been sometimes complained of in laws of that kind, as affecting the interests and embarrassing the transactions of fair and extensive commerce.

The commercial intercourse with America is an object of the first importance to

Great Britain. America is now, and will probably for a considerable time remain, in such a situation as affords an extensive market for the produce of British industry and manufacture. The natural fertility of the soil of most of the provinces of America, and the great quantity of unoccupied ground which these contain, will give to their industry and capital a natural tendency towards agriculture. It will be long before they will leave that first stage of labour for the more complicated business of manufacture, or the distant speculations of commerce. They will find in the manufactures of this country what the wants of such a situation require, for which their natural produce may be advantageously exchanged; and the increasing population to which the agricultural state is peculiarly favourable will increase the number of consumers for those articles which the British artizan or merchant can afford them. To the British artizan or merchant they will naturally be directed not only by the superiority of the articles which these can afford them, but by two circumstances which must always have a powerful effect in

in

in associating and connecting the two countries, a common language and a common religion. This amicable and mutually advantageous intercourse has already begun to heal that animosity which rankled in the bosom of America from the recollection of the late unfortunate contest; and it is some compensation to this country for the loss of honour and waste of treasure with which that contest was attended.

To what extent the policy of those commercial regulations, of which the foregoing sketch has been given, has contributed to the present state of the trade of Great Britain, it may not be easy precisely to determine. That they have essentially contributed to it is a conclusion which will naturally be drawn by the unprejudiced. The result, however, from whatever cause it may be held to arise, it is highly gratifying to state. It appears, from the latest and best authenticated accounts, that the increase of the trade and shipping of this country, since the conclusion of last war, has been greater than the most sanguine ideas could have reached. In the year

1783 there were cleared outwards from the various ports of the kingdom, of

British vessels, - - 7329

Foreign, - - 1544

In the last year of which an account has been taken, to wit, in 1790 the number was as follows :

British, - - 12,762

Foreign, - - 1,140

Of our imports and exports, during the same period, the increase has been proportional.

In 1783 the value of our im-

ports was - - £. 13,122,235

In 1790 - - 19,130,886

In 1783 our exports amount-

ed to - - 14,756,813

In 1790, to - - 20,120,121

It will not escape observation, that though the increase of either sufficiently marks the growing commerce of the State, yet the great augmentation of our export trade is a flattering proof of the thriving situation of our manufactures and the demand which is made for them in foreign markets.

## SECTION III. 77-102

## FINANCE,

*Commutation Act. — Reduction of Duty on Spirits. — Excise upon Wine and Tobacco. — Act for the Prevention of Smuggling. — Manifest Act. — Act for appointing Commissioners to audit the public Accounts. — Regulations respecting Revenue. — Additional Taxes. — Act for applying the Annual Million. — Comparative State of Revenue and Expenditure.*

THERE is no department of public business to which the Parliament of 1784 paid a more unremitting or a more successful attention than that of *Finance*. — A Report of a Committee, instituted for the purpose of inquiring into the abuses of Smuggling, was given in to the House of Commons before the close of the preceding Parliament ; but the situation of affairs at that time was such as to suspend any measures



fures for checking these abuses ; they were consequently left to the active exertions of the succeeding Parliament. It will be satisfactory to the Public to trace their effects.

The great articles on which the enormous frauds, reported by the Committee, arose, were *Tea, Spirits, Wine, and Tobacco*. To these, therefore, it was necessary for Parliament to direct their particular attention. The two first were already subjected to every regulation and restraint which the mode of levying and securing duties by excise, provides against fraud. But in articles of general consumption, if the duties are high, the encouragement to smuggle overbears the risk, at the same time that it sharpens ingenuity to defeat the provisions of the law. In such cases the lessening that encouragement by a diminution of the duty, is the only means left to prevent smuggling.

With regard to the first of these articles, *Tea*, this object was endeavoured to be attained by the act of Parliament passed in 1784, known by the name of the *Commutation Act*. It was an experiment in finance, which had been distantly proposed at various

rious

rious periods, and which the necessity of counteracting the alarming frauds reported by the Committee, now induced the Minister at the head of the Treasury to bring forth for the sanction of Parliament. The quantity of tea annually smuggled into the kingdom appeared, by the best-founded calculations, to be not less than twelve or thirteen millions of pounds weight, double the quantity legally imported by the East-India Company. To take away from the smuggler the advantage under which this very great importation was made, the plan of the act was to lower the duties on tea to about one fourth of their former amount. But as that would cause a defalcation of revenue of about 600,000*l.*, it was proposed to compensate this by an additional duty on houses and windows. The principle of the new tax, it was contended, was as nearly that of commutation, as it could be said to be in the case of any new duty on two different subjects, because tea being now, by the habits of life, become a necessary of universal consumption, almost every person paying the new tax on windows, would be freed from an equal amount of the old tax

on tea. This principle of commutation  
 was warmly disputed by the Members in  
 ✓ Opposition, tea being, as they contended, a  
 luxury which might or might not be con-  
 sumed, but lodging and light being neces-  
 ^ saries which could not be dispensed with.  
 In some few instances this argument might  
 hold, but in general it was certainly true,  
 that the great body of the people received,  
 in the abatement of the duty on the one ar-  
 ticle, at least an equivalent to the advance  
 on the other. And even if the title *Com-*  
*mutation* should, strictly speaking, be denied  
 it, the broad and general principle was  
 founded in true political economy, that a  
 tax by which a fraud was practised on the  
 public revenue to so enormous an amount,  
 and which tended so much to increase  
 smuggling in other articles, was such as  
 ought to be repealed, and a substitute as  
 little oppressive as possible, and as fairly,  
 universally, and equally leviable, should be  
 ✓ provided to replace it. The event justified  
 the policy of the measure. The public has  
 gained in point of revenue on this substi-  
 tuted tax, and the remaining duty on tea,  
 ✓ between 62,000l. and 63,000l. per annum;  
 but

but its operation has been infinitely more important in contributing to the general suppression of smuggling, and the great augmentation of other branches of the revenue; besides the extensive commercial advantage to the nation of importing directly for ourselves this very great article of our consumption, a large portion of which was before supplied through the channel of the smuggler by foreign countries. The relief which this measure also afforded to the finances of the East-India Company, in which the nation is materially interested, is an additional proof of its wisdom and utility \*.

The

\* The increase of revenue arising from the Commutation Act upon a comparison of the average produce of four years succeeding it, with the average produce of five years prior to it, is ——— — £. 79,907

But it is fair to deduct the sum by which the average produce of the old window duty fell short of its average produce prior to this act	—————	—————	19,139
			<hr/>
		Increase	60,768
M		But	

The same principle of taking away the temptation to smuggle by lowering the duty on legal importation, was adopted on the article of *Spirits*.

The

But the most important advantages which the public have derived from this act are as follow :

1st. The increase of British shipping, taken upon an average of the last five years, compared with five years immediately preceding the passing of this act, is 14,089 tons; some of this shipping was taken up at a high freight; but at the present freight, which is on an average 22 l. per ton, the annual amount of the increase would be £. 309,958

2dly. The total value of exports to China, from 1776 to 1783, was £. 995,673

From 1784 to 1791 — 6,698,221

The amount of the value of the increase is — — 5,702,548

Which on an average is annually — 712,818

The private trade has likewise much increased.

3dly. Since this act passed, being seven years and an half, there

has been sold 121,730,453

pounds of tea, which, duty

included, sold for 21,058,497

The

The stipulation with regard to the Brandy of France in the *commercial treaty*, lowered, of course, the duty on that article; but the object of effectually preventing smuggling made it desirable to reduce the duty even lower than to the stipulated amount, and with the same view it was necessary to make a proportionate reduction on other species of foreign spirituous liquors.

The same quantity of tea, and of the same quality, at the average price of tea ten years prior to the act, (including the duties) would have amounted to ————— 40,876,730

The conclusion from this is, that there has been a saving to the public upon the amount of what the same quantity of tea would have sold for at legal sales, if the Commutation Act had not passed of ————— 19,818,233

The average upon seven years and an half is ————— 2,642,430

And this gain is to be set against the charges brought upon the public by the imposition of this tax.



Yet so far was this reduction from having any effect prejudicial to the revenue, that on the contrary the duty on the article of spirits increased after such reduction of its rate, to a very large amount. In 1786 the total net produce of the duty on foreign spirits was 713,376l.; whereas in 1790 that produce amounted to the sum of 1,082,264l.—an increase of no less a sum than 368,888l. Besides this gain to the revenue, the same sort of advantage as before observed on the *commutation act*, is in some measure produced by every fair trade, in opposition to a contraband one; that in the first, the national merchant profits, and the national seaman is employed; in the latter, the foreign or the outlaw smuggler derives the chief profit of the trade, and the capital centers in a foreign country.

In the two other articles which have been before mentioned of wine and tobacco, the effect of excise regulations which appeared applicable to both had never been tried. This experiment with respect to wine was made in the year 1786, and succeeded so well, that notwithstanding the lowering of the duty in consequence of  
the

the commercial treaty with France, so considerably below its former rate, the total amount of revenue received for that article has annually increased; the average receipt for three years prior to the commercial treaty, and the excise regulations, having been 625,454*l.*, and that for three years posterior to those events 714,010*l.*, and in the year 1790 804,167*l.*

The regulations of excise were likewise, in the year 1789, extended to the article of tobacco; and though the provisions of this bill have not yet been completely effectual, and tobacco is still one of the very few articles in which a contraband trade continues to be carried on, the benefit nevertheless has already been extensive, and such as fully justifies the measure. The duty on tobacco on an average of three years, immediately previous to the commencement of this act, amounted to the sum of 505,708*l.*, and the drawback 81,996*l.*; whereas the amount of duty in the year 1790 was 676,273*l.*, while the drawback has increased only to 86,027*l.*

But the Parliament of 1784 was aware, that though the reduction of duty upon particular

particular articles would effectually counteract the smuggler with respect to such articles, yet that smuggling prevailed to so alarming an extent, as to threaten the total ruin of the public revenue, if such measures were not taken as would effectually suppress the general practice of it. With this view a bill was introduced in the year 1784 for the better prevention of smuggling. The objects of which were, to extend the hovering laws, enabling the officer to seize vessels employed in smuggling at a greater distance from the shore—to prohibit the building or navigation of vessels of a certain description, known to be those employed by the smuggler—to prevent vessels, when lawfully condemned from being sold as they formerly had been, in a manner which enabled the smuggler to recover the possession of them—to suffer no vessel to be armed beyond a certain extent without a license from the Admiralty—to regulate the clearances of vessels of all descriptions—and to enlarge the powers of seizure, by authorizing revenue officers to seize vessels, having on board contraband  
 commo-

commodities in packages of a smaller bulk than allowed by law.

These were the principal regulations of this bill, and its effect was to check, in a great measure, that branch of smuggling which at that time was carried on, in notorious defiance of the law, to a greater degree than had ever before prevailed in this country.

To the same object the attention of Parliament was directed in passing the Manifest bill in the year 1786. Frauds to a considerable extent were practised by the masters of such as were apparently regular trading vessels; to prevent which, the bill requires every master of a trading ship to produce the manifest of his cargo, containing every article of which it consists, and prohibits the importation of goods into Great Britain, without the production of such manifest. The act likewise makes some very important regulations to check the frauds practised in the exportation of goods entitled to drawback or bounty — and gives to the Commanders of his Majesty's ships a power to seize vessels or goods subject to forfeiture.

It

It is impossible to ascertain what precise effect these acts have had in the increase of our revenue ; but it is well known, that they have answered the purposes aimed at by the Legislature ; and it is probable that a great part of the increase arises from their beneficial effects.

Besides these measures, which were directed to the improvement of the permanent revenue, an equal attention was shewn to other objects connected with general principles of economy, and tending to give the public the benefit of other resources which might be applied in aid of the annual taxes to meet the necessary expences.

It is now scarcely credible, that, prior to the year 1785, the public accounts of the kingdom were passed in either of the offices of the auditors of the imprest, who acted by deputy, and this single person decided on the particulars of the account. Without any reflection upon the character of whoever might be in such a situation, the impropriety of accounts between Government and individuals, in which millions were frequently to be decided upon, being examined in this manner, must strike every

one who considers the subject, were large balances remained due to Government—many accounts were unfettled, and, perhaps, others passed without the necessary investigation which accounts of this importance required. The act of 1785 appointed five Commissioners for the purpose of examining and auditing the public accounts of the kingdom, and invested them with all the powers necessary to render their appointment efficient.

The benefit the country has derived from the appointment of these Commissioners in the regularity of examining and passing the public accounts, and in recovering large sums due to the public, which have been paid in consequence of the steps taken by the Commissioners for that purpose, is the best encomium upon the measure itself, and upon those Commissioners who have so faithfully and diligently carried it into effect.

The same disinterested principle which has governed every proceeding of the present Administration respecting matters of revenue, is observable in the mode of making loans and conducting lotteries. For-



merly the necessity of the public, to avail itself of these means of raising money, was made an engine of corruption, and loans, lotteries, and contracts, were formed, not with a view to the public service, but for the emolument of the individual to whom they were given. The mode adopted during the period included in this work, has been that of receiving public proposals, and accepting the offer which is most advantageous in its turn; the theory of reform is always popular, but it is seldom that, in a Government constituted like ours, that there is public virtue enough in the Minister to bring reform into action, and abridge his own patronage.

Though the regulations above referred to have answered the purposes for which they were made, and proved highly beneficial to the public, it was obvious at the very beginning of this period, that the effect of regulation alone could not render the revenue equal to the expences which had been entailed on the country by the effects of the war; it became therefore an indispensable duty to find productive taxes to such an amount as, added to the benefit de-

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rived from these regulations, might render the income equal to the expenditure, and ensure a surplus applicable to the reduction of debt. It is no small proof of the perseverance of the Legislature, and the resources of the country, that productive taxes, to an amount exceeding one million annually, were imposed in the course of the last Parliament; and that although every resource had been supposed to be previously exhausted, they neither interfered with other branches of the revenue, or checked the commerce of the country; both of which, on the contrary, have increased with unusual rapidity.

While Parliament was thus successfully employed in rendering the public revenue more effectual, it was proper, at the same time, to take measures for applying that revenue in a direction most profitable to the State. By the report of a Committee appointed in 1786, the probable surplus of the public income, after paying the interest of the national debt, and providing for the various establishments, was calculated at

900,000*l.* per annum. To this was added 100,000*l.* levied by a part of the additional taxes before referred to, and one million annually; the amount of both was vested in Commissioners, to be appropriated to the extinction of the national public debt, by the purchase of stock, on behalf of the public. The effects of this operation, acting, as it does, with a progressive increase, are beyond what a slight view of the subject would lead one to suppose. The sum paid off at the first of February, 1791, was 6,772,350*l.*; the interest on which amounting to 203,170*l.*, together with 51,634*l.* of expired annuities, amounting in the whole to the sum of 254,804*l.*, are, according to the tenor of the plan, added to the annual million for the reduction of the national debt, and increase at compound interest in favour of the public.

The appropriation of this million is a trust for posterity, and never should be infringed. For contingencies beyond the ordinary and established expence of the nation, the most manly, as well as the most economical mode of provision, is by raising the capital of the sum laid out within a  
short

short determinate space of time. Of this an example was shewn, in the last Session of Parliament, on occasion of providing for the expences incurred in our dispute with Spain. These expences amounted to a sum of about 3,000,000*l*. Temporary and productive taxes were provided to the amount of 800,000*l*. per annum; part of which were to remain till a large portion of this debt was extinguished, and the remainder till the whole should be completely discharged, which would be effected in about four years. Except some unforeseen event shall arise, for which the nation cannot provide in this manner, there will be nothing to counteract the rapid effect which the appropriation of the surplus revenue must produce in no very distant period towards relieving the country from a large proportion of its heavy incumbrances.

It will be a subject of just satisfaction and triumph, to every one who feels for his country, to recapitulate the advantages which have been produced within the period of this statement, partly by the measures now detailed, and still more by the natural effects of peace, and the continu-

ally increasing exertions of national industry. Few instances occur in history of so rapid and unexpected an improvement in the situation of public affairs; and the change becomes more striking from having immediately followed a period equally remarkable for as sudden a transition from a state of opulence and prosperity to weakness and distress. A war which was productive of nothing but calamity, and which terminated by the separation of thirteen flourishing provinces from the empire, had, in the course of seven years of fruitless contest, added above one hundred millions to the capital of the national debt. The taxes imposed to defray the interest of this sum had fallen short of the total amount of the interest actually incurred during that period by much more than two millions. They left at the conclusion of the war an annual deficiency in those funds only of near 400,000*l*. The rest of the revenue destined in times of peace to pay the interest of debt previously contracted, or to support the ordinary establishments, had in the mean time declined; and the whole of the annual revenue, including the produce  
both

both of the taxes subsisting before the war, and those imposed in the course of it, amounted, at the end of 1783, only to about one million six hundred thousand pounds more than in 1776, though a debt had been incurred in the same period, either funded, or remaining to be funded, the whole interest of which would occasion an addition to the annual and (as it was then thought) the perpetual charge on the public of a little less than five millions\*. The total of the permanent *annual charges on the aggregate fund*, including the civil list, and the addition of the interest of Exchequer bills, as they stood at that period, was 10,600,000*l.*, and the total of the *annual revenue* arising from the permanent taxes was about 10,200,000*l.*

In addition to this deficiency there remained the whole burden of providing for the annual expences of the army, the navy, the ordnance, the charges for the plantations, and the other necessary services, the

\* The total amount of interest on the national debt at the end of the year 1776 was 4,475,000*l.*, and in 1786, 9,273,000*l.*



amount of which could not be calculated at less than 4,000,000*l*. To meet these charges, the only remaining resource, without recurring to fresh taxes, was the annual vote of the land and malt, which is nominally estimated at 2,750,000*l*., but which in fact produces about 2,550,000*l*. The melancholy result of the whole was, that there existed a deficiency of the actual amount of the revenue below the annual expenditure, on the lowest estimate, of above 1,800,000*l*.

Some relief was undoubtedly, under any circumstances, to be expected from the return of peace; but it seemed less to be relied upon at this period than at any which had before occurred. Besides the difficulties already mentioned, the public credit (which is the center on which every thing turns, where a large debt has once been created) had sunk even more than the public revenue.

The price of annuities, at an interest of 3 per cent., which, in times of prosperity, had frequently been above par, and seldom lower than 90, had, at the conclusion of the year 1783, or the beginning of 1784, fallen

to

to 55. This depression of credit had swallowed up and annihilated for the time almost half the value of the funded property of the kingdom. The price of lands had sunk from the same causes, though; perhaps, not in an equal degree.

The universal difficulty of obtaining money, and the actual scarcity both of specie and of bullion; had every where checked circulation. There appeared (as it were) a general stagnation in all the exertions of the country; clandestine and illicit trade was the only one which was prosecuted with vigour, and the enterprise and industry which had formerly contributed to the wealth of the nation seemed to be flowing into channels where it could only operate to compleat the corruption of its morals, and the ruin of its revenue.

Under these calamitous circumstances even the spirit of the nation was broken; the feeling and temper of people, of all descriptions, resembled the dismay of an army which had sustained some unexpected and disgraceful defeat; when, unless means can be found to revive their courage, and inspire them with fresh confidence

fidence in themselves, they will never again be led to victory and to glory. Every thing depended upon the influence of opinion ; but to remove the despondency, and to raise the hopes of the nation, seemed a task as difficult as to retrieve its credit, and to repair its resources. If it were practicable at all, it was thought to require an union of all the talents, and all the efforts of the different parties in the state. But here unfortunately the danger was still increased ; instead of either an union in the public cause, or a generous emulation and rivalry in support of the public interest, the nation was torn and distracted by the utmost violence of faction, which for a time suspended the functions of executive government, and even threatened the extremes of anarchy and confusion.

At length, however, the storm subsided, and as soon as there was the appearance of a settled Government, an attempt was made, (under all the discouragements which have been stated), the success or failure of which would be decisive on our future situation. The immense load of unfunded debt which had accumulated during the war pressed  
more

more than any other circumstance on the credit of the country; its amount proved near 30,000,000*l.*; yet large as this sum is, the effect of it operated in a still higher proportion, from its being neither liquidated nor ascertained.

In the beginning of the new Parliament measures were taken for funding the whole of this debt, and for providing efficient taxes to defray the charge which it would occasion. This alone was a pledge and earnest to the world of a disposition to encounter all the difficulties of the situation, and to endeavour at least to equalize the public income to its expenditure. A single step of this nature went far to dissipate the gloom which then hung over the country. Men began to recollect themselves, to entertain truer notions of the extent of our resources, and to remember the first duty of good citizens, “never to despair of the republic.”

The succeeding exertions of the country, and the measures taken for the improvement of the revenue, enabled Parliament, as early as the year 1786, after making good the deficiencies before stated, and al-

lotting a sufficient provision for other necessary public expences, to ensure (in the manner already stated) the appropriation of a million annually, at compound interest, to the discharge of the national debt. The commercial treaty with France succeeded, which put an end to a suspense unfavourable both to trade and revenue, and by opening to us an additional and extensive market on favourable terms, gave a new scope and a fresh incentive to the spirit of industry and commerce.

After these two events the tide was completely turned, and its course ever since has been uniform and rapid.

Our revenue has been gradually rising, and in the last year has exceeded the amount of the year 1783 by nearly four millions sterling. About one million of this sum seems to have arisen, as has been already stated, from the imposition of additional and productive taxes; nearly an equal proportion has accrued on those articles which have been enumerated as the subject of specific regulations; the remainder proceeds from a cause still more satisfactory, a gradual augmentation diffused  
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over almost every branch of the revenue, which can only be ascribed to the increased consumption and the increased wealth of the empire.

We have already seen that a corresponding improvement has taken place in the state of our trade, which both furnishes an explanation of the great source of our advantages and gives us just ground to expect their continuance. In the mean time near seven millions of the capital of our debt have been discharged, a sum larger than has ever been paid off in the longest interval of peace, since the commencement of the century. The sinking fund now applicable annually to the discharge of debt has already grown to about one million three hundred thousand pounds.

The rise in the value of the stocks seems to open the prospect of a reduction of interest on those funds which are redeemable ; and if we were to look beyond the period to which this work is confined, we should perhaps find the prospect still brightening. We may even be allowed to hope that the moment is not distant which may complete the contrast with our former distresses, and  
when



when, instead of increasing incumbrances, and impaired resources, we may find our revenue sufficient to accelerate the reduction of the national debt, and at the same time diminish in some degree the burthen of the taxes now levied upon the people.

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## SECTION IV. 102-112

### *Interference of Great Britain in the Settlement of the Affairs of Holland.*

THE internal arrangements of revenue and finance, though not interrupted in system, were somewhat abated in their effects, by accidental occurrences in foreign politics, which obliged Great Britain to interpose in the situation of countries materially connected with our own. It requires but little sagacity to pronounce, that the pacific system now generally allowed to be for the interest of every country, is peculiarly for the interest of Great Britain.

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But to preserve peace, it is necessary to maintain the dignity of a nation unimpaired; to make her friendship valuable, and her resentment, when unavoidably roused to just resentment, formidable to other nations. It is with states as with individuals; their independance and their power procure them friends and allies. The last unfortunate war had left us without an ally; France had, by mutual advantages, drawn closer the ties of the *family compact* with Spain; and she directed almost at will the councils of Holland. That country, with which, for more than a century before, Great Britain had been connected by numberless engagements, had, for some time past, been devoted to the interests of her rival power, who, seeing the importance of the acquisition, had, with unceasing policy, and at an enormous expence, prosecuted and attained the object of gaining an entire ascendancy in the Dutch Government.

The disturbances which, during the year 1786, and for some time preceding, had prevailed in the various provinces of the Republic, were at last, by the violence

lence of the Anti-*Stadtholderian* party, brought, in the spring of the succeeding year, to the issue of an armed contest. The mediation of France and Prussia had only produced, in its failure, that fresh and redoubled animosity which always attends a fruitless endeavour at conciliation. The province of *Holland* adopted resolutions subversive of the union of the states, and in direct violation of the Constitution of the Republic; those resolutions it prepared to enforce by an army recruited with French soldiers, and assisted in its operations by French officers. A civil war had actually begun in the province of *Utrecht*, and in another quarter; the city of *Amsterdam* experienced a scene of confusion and horror little short of the sack and devastation of a victorious and unrestrained soldiery.

In the progress of those violent measures, which the enemies of the *Stadtholder* pursued, they committed a personal outrage on the Princess of Orange, which roused the resentment, and justified the immediate interposition of her brother the King of Prussia. They refused the satisfaction

faction which that Monarch demanded for the insult offered to his sister, with an obstinacy and a confidence, inspired not less by the hopes of foreign succour, than by the strength of their party in the Republic. The consequent measures of the Court of Berlin are sufficiently known. They were taken with a promptitude and a decision which they could scarcely have possessed without a reliance on that co-operation which Great Britain had resolved to afford in rescuing the Constitution and rights of the United Provinces from the tyranny of a faction as hostile to the interests of this country, as to the established Government of its own. The Court of France was too sensible of the importance of maintaining its influence in the Republic, easily to acquiesce in the defeat of that party by whose means that influence had been so long supported. Its resolution to interfere in support of that party was notified to the Court of Great Britain about the same time that the answer by the States of Holland refusing the satisfaction which the King of Prussia demanded was delivered to his Ambassador. This was one of those critical

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junctures in which firmness of councils and vigour of exertion were able to obtain an object of the greatest importance to the future political interests of this country. The immediate equipment of a formidable fleet, the increase of our own military force, and the subsidiary treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassell for a body of auxiliaries, put this country in a condition effectually to counteract the interposition of France on the opposite side. The suddenness and expedition of the preparations in this country, which actually took place within three days of the notification from France, and almost at the same moment that the Prussian troops were entering Holland, added not a little to the effect of the measure. This decisive conduct, so much beyond the energy she had lately found in the operations of this country, France appears not to have been prepared for, and at that juncture, pressed by the embarrassed situation of her finances, she was unable to withstand it. Awed by the firmness of the British Councils, and the instant and formidable exertions of her national strength, she gave up the Dutch republic-  
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cans to their fate ; the Stadtholder enjoyed the full fruits of the Duke of Brunswick's ably-conducted and highly-successful expedition, and was reinstated in the fullest powers which his family had ever held since the union of the provinces. In so short a space of time, and from the promptitude with which Government took advantage of circumstances proceeding from causes in themselves inconsiderable, was that ascendancy which France had so long held in the Administration of Holland, overthrown, and Great Britain freed from those dangers which the soundest of her politicians had often predicted from its effects.

When this business was laid before Parliament, the manner in which it had been conducted on the part of this country received the approbation of all parties. The leaders of opposition, while they gave that approbation with a very laudable frankness and candour, remarked the wisdom, now proved by recent events, of that jealousy of France which they had formerly recommended. In point of political forecast, they now ventured to recommend that

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system



system of continental alliance, without which Britain must be left, as was her misfortune in the last war, insulated and friendless amidst a combination of enemies; that system which, tending to preserve the *balance of power* in Europe, gives the best assurance for its tranquillity, and is so essential to the interests and safety of Great Britain.

“ This system, (said Mr. Fox,) which has been sometimes called romantic, is a serious system, and such as it is the interest of this country to be governed by; a system founded on that sound and solid political maxim, that Great Britain ought to look to the situation of affairs upon the Continent, and take such measures upon every change of circumstances abroad, as shall best tend to preserve the balance of power in Europe.” Upon that maxim, he said, he had founded all his political conduct, and convinced as he was of its justness, he should continue to adhere to it.

Mr. Burke declared, “ that he highly approved of the system of measures pursued with respect to Holland, and the re-  
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newal of continental connections. That was the system on which alone the country could expect to stand with safety and honour. It was during our adherence to that system that Great Britain had been a glorious country, the object of the admiration of other countries. The subsidiary treaty with Hesse, as a single, unconnected measure, he must disapprove, because, by continuing our guarantee to that Prince, we might be involved in a war on his account; but as part of a system comprehending Prussia and Holland, it was a wise measure, and as such it should have his suffrage."

The expediency of this system of Continental connections might occur to minds less enlightened than those of Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke. But the national prejudices of this country are against it. In every country the bulk of the people look not to distant events, nor will easily consent to make provision for them at the expence of present inconvenience. If at any time the tide of this prejudice should run against the measures of Government, it were perhaps more virtue than we are entitled to  
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look for in a statesman to contradict that prejudice in favour of a rival. System will probably then be forgotten, or that system only remembered which is paramount to every other, the system of party.

One of the most immediate advantages, though imperfectly known at the time, which Great Britain derived from this successful interference in the affairs of Holland, was the safety of our East-Indian settlements, on which the French party in Holland had meditated a very serious attack, in conjunction with France, and *Tip-poo Saib*, who had lately succeeded his father, the celebrated *Hyder Ali*, in the sovereignty of *Mysore*.

Absolute Sovereign, though under an usurped title, of an extensive and populous empire, the force of which is concentrated for attack, while itself is defended by a barrier of almost impassable mountains; with a restless and unbounded ambition, supported by great abilities, and unrestrained by good faith or principle; with that command over the minds of his followers which is naturally inspired by his own talents, and which receives additional weight from  
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the celebrity of his father's name ; with an hatred, like that of *Hannibal* to Rome, hereditary and inveterate against the English nation ; with an army regularly established, trained by the discipline, and assisted by the presence, of a considerable number of French officers and soldiers—*Tippoo Saib* is by much the most formidable enemy which Great Britain has to fear in Asia. With him, as with his father, France had been at great pains to connect herself. With him, in conjunction with the *Mahrattas* and the *Soubah of the Decan*, it is understood that France, and Holland, under the influence of France, proposed to enter into an alliance offensive and defensive, against the British power in India. And there is great reason to suspect that measures had been actually concerted for speedily carrying the scheme into execution.

The Dutch Revolution, (if that term can be applied to the restoration of the constitutional Government of the United Provinces) joined to the embarrassed situation of France, which indeed was one great cause of the events in Holland, destroyed

stroyed this dangerous combination ! It did not, however, extinguish the restless and ambitious views of Tippoo, who, unsupported by any European power, has engaged in measures of aggression against an old and faithful ally of the British nation in India, under circumstances which will probably lead him to repent the folly and presumption of the attempt.

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## SECTION V. 112-122

### *Dispute with Spain.*

ANOTHER dispute, which threatened to interrupt the tranquillity which Great Britain was so much interested to preserve, was that which arose with *Spain*, on the seizure of some British vessels at *Nootka Sound*, on the North-western coast of *America*. One of the last great public acts of the late Parliament, was to give its  
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firm and decided sanction to the measures which His Majesty thought it advisable to take, for maintaining the national honour, and protecting the national interests, against the violence which had been offered to both.

The first intelligence of this event came through the channel of Spain itself. At the same time that it transmitted an account of the seizure of one of the ships in question, the Court of Spain justified the detention of the vessel, on the ground that the trade and intended settlement at Nootka, which was the object of the voyage, were a direct violation of the right of the Court of Spain to those territories, founded, as it was said, on original discovery, recognised by solemn treaties; and confirmed by immemorial possession; it even assumed, from these premises, the language of complaint against the subjects of this country, for an infringement of the rights of the Spanish empire, which it prayed His Britannic Majesty to prevent in future. At the same time it signified an approbation of the Governor of Mexico's conduct in releasing, as it was said he had done,

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the vessel and crew which had been seized at Nootka, on the ground that nothing but ignorance of the rights of Spain could have induced the subject of any nation to resort to that coast with the idea of making an establishment, or carrying on commerce there.

The extravagance of those pretensions, and the avowed act of injustice and violence to which they had in the present instance given rise, were of themselves sufficient to alarm the ministers of this country; but the arrival of Captain *Meares*, one of the owners of the vessels seized at Nootka, and the narrative given by him of the transaction, shewed the conduct of the Spaniards to have been even of a more hostile kind than the former intelligence had given any reason to suppose. From his relation it appeared, that in consequence of a previous trade opened with the North-western coast of America, under the patronage of the Governor General of India, he had, in conjunction with other British merchants, fitted out two vessels, with which he arrived at Nootka in May, 1788; purchased some ground from the natives  
for

for the purpose of a settlement, and had actually built a house, and hoisted the British colours. That in the following year two other vessels were sent by this associated Company, with artificers of various kinds, and other persons intended as settlers at this part of Nootka. That after these vessels had been some time there, and one of them had been dispatched on discoveries to the adjoining coasts, a Spanish sloop of war appeared in that quarter, whose commander, after some mutual civilities which had been employed on his part to disguise the hostility of his design, seized the British vessels, and made the Captain and crews prisoners, whom he treated with a wanton insolence and cruelty which not even an actual state of war would have justified, on the humane and liberal principles of modern times. Accounts were at the same time received of certain warlike preparations of the Spanish Court, which seemed to indicate her resolutions to support the pretensions of her sovereignty, if not to vindicate the acts of her officers.

In this posture of affairs, it became the duty of Administration to take immediate measures for placing the country in a situation to enforce her demands of justice, if the Court of Spain should refuse that satisfaction which this insult on the flag, this outrage against the subjects in Great Britain, required.

Notice of the business in agitation was sent to the different Consuls in Spain; and on the 4th of May, a general and very effectual press took place. It was by this incident that the Public were first led to the knowledge of any dispute between the two Courts; a secrecy of a very uncommon but highly useful kind, having hitherto covered this transaction from the eye of every person except those whose confidential situation made them necessarily acquainted with its progress.

On the 5th of May a message from His Majesty was delivered to both Houses of Parliament, informing them of the seizure of the vessels at Nootka Sound; the demand made by His Majesty for an adequate satisfaction, which had not yet been made or offered, and the claim asserted by Spain

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to an exclusive sovereignty and commerce in that part of the world. That His Majesty had instructed his minister at Madrid to make a fresh representation on the subject; but having in the mean time received information of considerable armaments in the ports of Spain, “ he had judged it indispensablely necessary to make such preparations as might put it in his power to act with vigour and effect in support of the honour of his Crown, and the interests of his people; and expressed his firm reliance on the support of Parliament in taking such measures as might be eventually necessary for that purpose.”

The answer was such as might be expected from a British Parliament on such an occasion. If limited monarchies sometimes want that prompt and speedy exertion, of which absolute Governments are susceptible, they possess, on the other hand, that warm, that vigorous impulse, which the sentiment of a free country inspires, when satisfied of the justice of the cause which it is called to support. The answer of Parliament was unanimous and cordial;

cordial ; the feelings of the nation were in unison with the voice of its representatives, who expressed their determination “ to  
 “ concur with His Majesty in the most  
 “ zealous and effectual manner in such  
 “ measures as may become requisite for  
 “ maintaining the dignity of His Majes-  
 “ ty’s Crown, and the essential interest of  
 “ his dominions.”

Fortified with this resolution of Parliament, and the congenial spirit of the people, Administration continued their war-like preparations with such earnest and effective dispatch, that in the short space of about two months, a fleet of between 50 and 60 ships of the line was ready for sea. Nor did they seem wanting in foresight of future events, any more than in application to the present emergency. In America and the West Indies, it is understood, they had prepared the different Governors for the possible event of a Spanish war, in such a manner as to prevent any danger of an unlooked-for attack in that quarter where Spain might naturally be supposed most in condition to meditate such an attempt ; and though the particular projects of the  
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war were studiously concealed, the preparations made sufficiently shewed that it was the intention to carry on the most vigorous operations in the Southern hemisphere.

One of the most immediate objects of attention in the British Government, and one which was attended with the most pleasing success, was the application to Holland for its assistance on this occasion, in virtue of the late alliance with the Republic. The friendship of Holland was not only unequivocally declared, but its assistance was given with an alacrity and an activity which have not been often exemplified in the exertions of a country so constituted as that of the United Provinces. A Dutch fleet sailed to Portsmouth early in the month of July, and provision was made for a speedy reinforcement to this squadron if the exigency of affairs should require it. Assurances are also known to have been received from Prussia, of a readiness to furnish its stipulated succours, in any manner in which they could most contribute to the success and the exertions of this country.

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These were the first fruits of that alliance, which our interposition in the affairs of the Republic in 1787 had produced between Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland, and shewed the policy of a system, which attached to us one of the first military, and one of the first naval powers in Europe.

The formidable preparations which Britain was so soon enabled to complete; the zeal and ardour of the nation; the firmness of its Councils, aided also by the particular situation of France, and its equivocal language on the subject of the family compact, induced the Court of Spain, after some months of explanation and delay, to abate that lofty and unbending deportment which she had held on the first outset of this business. On the 24th of July, 1790, a declaration and counter-declaration was executed at Madrid between the ministers of Britain and Spain, by which the latter agreed to that satisfaction for the injury committed, restitution of the vessels seized, and indemnification to their owners, on which the former had uniformly insisted as a preliminary step to every

every other adjustment of the present dispute, or arrangement for preventing such disputes in future. But the accomplishment of such future arrangement was an object which it was highly important for Britain to obtain; and which, in the discussion of this affair in Parliament consequent on the King's message, had been mentioned by all parties as a measure which the present circumstances of the two Courts afforded the best occasion to enforce. This was the subject of a negociation, which from its nature must have been of considerable difficulty, and which was not finally settled till the 24th of October. On that day a Convention was entered into at Madrid, between the ministers of Great Britain and Spain, in behalf of their respective Courts, by which, in addition to the restoration of the property whereof the British subjects had been dispossessed at Nootka, and an adequate compensation for their losses, which had before been stipulated, the important concession of our equal right of navigation and fishery in the Pacific ocean or South seas, and of landing on the coasts unoccupied by the

Spaniards, for the purpose of commerce with the natives, or of making settlements on such unoccupied places, was obtained for the subjects of this country. Amicable provisions were also made for a friendly intercourse of trade between the two nations on the north-western coast of America, and the adjacent islands; and for the prevention of any hostile or violent measures between their respective subjects in those distant regions.

The issue of this business was flattering to Great Britain. The resources and force of the empire were proved and exerted; and that power and dignity which the misfortunes of the last war had been supposed so much to abate, were now restored to this country, and employed with a moderation, and at the same time with a firmness and an effect, which tended alike to exalt the national character, and to secure the public tranquillity.

## SECTION

## SECTION VI.

p 123 - 135

*Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts.*

**T**WO public measures of considerable importance, which have not yet been adverted to, were brought forward in this Parliament, and both of them were supported by a respectable part of the representative body, and of the people at large—I mean a motion for a *Repeal* of the *Test* and *Corporation Acts*, and an enquiry on which to found a bill for the *Abolition of the Slave Trade*.

Of these, although the first was rejected by the last Parliament, and the second has since been rejected in the present, it seems proper, in this historical review, to take some notice, because they agitated at the time, and still continue to agitate, the opinions and the feelings of the Public.

A petition of the Dissenters, praying for a repeal of the acts above mentioned, was first presented to the House of Com-

mons on the 28th of March, 1787, by Mr. Beaufoy, and supported by Mr. Fox, and several other very respectable Members of the House.

In support of the petition it was argued, “ that every man has a right to judge for himself in religious matters ; nor ought his exercise of that right to be branded with a mark of infamy, such as the exclusion from offices and trusts, which is part of the punishment inflicted by the law on several infamous crimes. That it was disgraceful to a country so enlightened as England to retain, in the present mild and liberal times, so much intolerance and persecution. That *opinion* merely, ought not to be at all subject to public cognizance, which should only be applied to men’s actions. That, in fact, there is no test of *civil* opinion ; for a man may hold opinions averse to every principle of the Constitution, and yet attain the highest situations in the State.”

“ The indecency and impiety of applying a sacred rite of religion, the Sacrament of our Lord’s Supper, to secular and political purposes, was warmly urged. That this  
kind

kind of test is as inefficacious as indecent ; because persons compelled by necessity, or allured by interest, may take the Sacrament after the manner of the Church of England, without supposing themselves by that compliance to declare their approbation of the form or constitution of the Church ; and Papists, against whom only, and not the Protestant Dissenters, the test act was originally intended to operate, may, exclusive of the general dispensation of their Church, take this test without conceiving it to bind their consciences, as many of them hold the Protestant Church to be no Church, its Ministers no Ministers, and its Sacrament no Sacrament."

" The Church of England, it was said, is secured in her doctrines, her discipline, and her privilege, without the test act, and its repeal would render more easy, as well as more pure, the exercise of one of the most sacred functions of her Ministers, who, as the law now stands, cannot, without being subject to an action for damages, refuse the Sacrament to any person who wishes to qualify himself for an office, and yet, by the solemn injunctions of the Church,



Church, are charged not to administer it to blasphemers, adulterers, and others, in a state unworthy of receiving it."

" The Dissenters, said the friends of the motion, ask nothing derogatory to the established religion of the country, or in the smallest degree trenching on her prerogatives ; it is only a civil equality they sue for ; a relief from those unjust and grievous disabilities which the present laws impose on them ; incapacity of any civil or military appointment, of trust or office in any community or corporation, even though they should have established it by their industry, or endowed it by their benevolence ; and, in case of holding any office without having submitted to this test, a proscription so cruel as the being legally incapable of maintaining any action at law, or suit in equity, of being a guardian, an executor, or even receiving a legacy."

" In foreign countries, amidst all their religious bigotry, there is no exclusion by a religious test from civil or military appointments ; the Episcopalians in Scotland, who are Dissenters from the Church established there, are subject to no such test ; in  
Ireland

Ireland the Dissenters obtained, in 1779, the repeal now solicited here; in none of those countries are any ill effects found to result from the want of this pretended guard to the religious establishment."

"The Dissenters, though incapacitated for the meanest office, are yet eligible to Parliament; so inconsistent, as well as unjust, are the exclusions against them. The advocates for such exclusion are reduced to the absurdity of confiding their religious interests to dissenting legislators, who, if they had the inclination, might possess the power of altering the Church Establishment, and yet of maintaining, that it is dangerous to trust Dissenters with offices and appointments, which confer, in that respect, no power or influence whatsoever."

"The impolicy of those statutes, it was insisted, was equal to their injustice; they separate and alienate from the general interests of the State a large and respectable body of the citizens. Take away, it was said, this odious line of separation, and the Dissenters will be mingled with their fellow subjects, and all distinction of a religious

gious party will be for ever abolished and forgotten.”

The prayer of this petition, and the motion in consequence of it, were opposed, among others, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and by Lord North, who, though he had a little while before had the misfortune to lose his eyesight, came down now, for the first time, to the House, to oppose a measure which he conceived so alarming to the safety and welfare of the country.

“ The question, it was argued by the opposers of the repeal, when stripped of those colours in which eloquence and abstract arguments of natural equity might dress it, was simply this : — Ought we to relinquish, at once, those provisions which had been adopted, by the wisdom of our ancestors, as a bulwark to the national church, of which the constitution and the safety were so intimately connected and interwoven with those of the State ? ”

“ The reasonableness of toleration was not disputed ; “ but it is not toleration, it was said, that is asked by the Dissenters, but equality ; the free exercise of their own  
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mode of worship is not denied them ; but it is to those only who follow the worship of the established Church, that the Constitution has thought proper to entrust the enjoyment of offices and appointments, with the Administration of which the safety both of Church and State is connected."

" Restrictions applying to offices, which are objects of favour and of trust, must never be considered as an infringement on Liberty. There are many instances of certain rights being confined to certain orders and qualifications of men ; but the title of the State to make such restrictions has never been called in question."

" If actions only, and not opinions or tenets, were to be matter of public cognizance or provision, there would be an end of all that preventive wisdom which guards the avenues of danger to the community. In fact and experience, the test laws have been the bulwark by which the Constitution has been saved. But for them, the family of Stuart might now have held the Throne on its own despotic terms, and no Constitution had been left us to value or to defend."

“ If an establishment of religion be at all necessary, (which will hardly be denied) this advantage and protection are necessary to its support. Without any reflection on the Dissenters, who are a very respectable body of men, and whose merits in several periods of public danger will readily be allowed, it may fairly be supposed, according to the principles they profess, that any accession of power would be used by them against the established Church ; as honest and conscientious men, holding that Church in a certain degree sinful and idolatrous, it is their duty to employ every legal means in their power for its degradation.”

“ The penalties and disabilities which have been inveighed against as so harsh and tyrannical, do not apply to the religious tenets or writings of the Dissenters. Against them there is no penalty whatsoever ; only a preventive restraint of the law, that men holding such doctrines, shall not be entitled to offices and appointments, in which they might have the power of hurting the religious establishment of the country. The penalties so  
much

much complained of, are only incurred by a breach of that law; they are not provisions of the statutes in question, but sanctions to secure their observance."

"In the foreign countries, cited as examples, it was said, the arbitrary nature of the government supercedes the necessity of such provisions as those contained in the laws wished to be repealed. The test act of England was founded on a jealousy of the Monarch, natural in a free country, limiting his power of nomination to offices, by a restriction for the security of the Church and the Constitution. In Scotland the Dissenters are chiefly Episcopalians, against whom the Presbyterian establishment is guarded by a solemn pledge at the Union. In Ireland, the non-conformity only to be dreaded is Popery, which there are other legal provisions to restrain."

A distinction was stated between the danger arising from the eligibility of Dissenters to Parliament, and that which would arise from allowing them to hold offices or places in corporations. If Dissenters were admitted into Corporations,

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they might, in some instances, obtain an exclusive possession of them, and might return persons of principles wholly unfavourable to the Church; whereas a Dissenter at present has no chance of sitting in Parliament, unless his principles are so moderate as to induce Members of the Church of England to elect him their representative. It was admitted, that the principles before stated would have justified withholding even this privilege, but the circumstance of having granted it, when it was of little importance, could furnish no argument for other concessions of a more dangerous tendency.

It had been said by the friends of the motion, that if the repeal was granted, the Dissenters would then rest satisfied, would trouble the Legislature for no farther indulgence, and indeed would lose altogether the distinction of a religious party. But this, it was contended, was contrary to experience and to human nature. Men are generally emboldened by success, and rise in future demands from having obtained the first. Some of the Dissenters, it was affirmed, did not scruple to declare their  
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aversion and enmity to the established Church, and certain publications were quoted to shew the designs which some of the leaders of that party harboured against it. The repeal of the test act would let in the most obnoxious and most violent, as well as the most moderate and inoffensive ; or rather the first would be most likely to push forward into offices, and trusts, from a zeal of which it was prudent to watch the progress, and to guard against the effects.

This application to Parliament on the part of the Dissenters, after being rejected on the present occasion by a majority of 178 to 100, was afterwards twice renewed, with a perseverance, which, by its friends, was argued as a proof of the justice of the claim ; by its opponents as the effect of an obstinate combination which might be the ground of alarm. In May, 1789, it was brought forward again by Mr. Beaufoy, when his motion was negatived by a division of 222 to 102 ; and in March, 1790, by Mr. Fox, when, notwithstanding the utmost exertion of his eminent abilities, the majority against it was considerably increased, the numbers being 294 to 105.

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These increased majorities were probably more owing to the circumstances of the times when the question was renewed, than to any novelty or superior force in the arguments by which the measure was resisted. A spirit of innovation and revolution had begun to arise, of which prudent and moderate men were afraid, and which in a country, and at a period that could boast so much actual prosperity and happiness, they saw no reason to encourage. The flourishing situation of that body of men, on whose behalf this question was now stirred, did not seem to imply the existence of any material grievance, any oppressive restriction attached to their peculiar form of worship. The present measure, it was said, bore rather the appearance of a step towards incroachment on the rights of the established Church, than of a mere defence of that of their own. Such, at least, it was asserted, might fairly be supposed to be the intentions of certain factious and designing men, of considerable influence among the Dissenters, who had, in sermons and discourses, avowed their hopes of a speedy abasement of the hierarchy

rarchy of the Church of England ; and, in the same publications, had breathed a congenial spirit of disaffection to the wisely-established monarchical part of our civil government. Such, it was allowed, might not be the sentiments of the great body of the Dissenters : they were too much interested in the national welfare to risk its peace by such attempts ; but to men whose turbulence and ambition overcame at once the mildness of religion, the principles of patriotism, and the considerations of prudence, it was necessary to oppose any just and legal barrier which could guard the tranquillity of the empire, or the safety of the constitution.

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## SECTION VII.

*Abolition of the Slave Trade. 135-155*

THE idea of abolishing the *Slave Trade* had first arisen, several years prior to its  
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being brought forward in Parliament, among the Quakers, a set of men whose principles of peace and meekness often ill according with the corruptions of society or the political interests of nations, were very naturally averse to a traffic which had its chief origin in war and rapine, and was supported by a great degree of violence and cruelty.

In Britain the suggestions of benevolence are always listened to with partiality. The address of the Quakers on the subject of the slave trade was favourably received in this country by many whose feelings were interested by the humanity of its motives, without having had leisure to consider its policy. A society was formed in England for the abolition of the slave trade, and considerable subscriptions raised for the purpose of an application to Parliament in that behalf, and of carrying on inquiries tending to establish the justice and the expediency of the measure.

In this spirit of active humanity petitions were presented to the House of Commons from several public bodies, praying an abolition of this trade. A very full  
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and elaborate inquiry was made by the Privy Council into the subject, and a number of persons examined concerning the nature of this branch of commerce, from its first stage on the coast of Africa to the sale of the negroes in the West Indies. This inquiry also comprehended the treatment and condition of the slaves in the plantations, and the consequences to be expected from the abolition or regulation of the traffic in question.

The matter of the before-mentioned petitions was first stirred in the House of Commons in the session 1788 ; but the general question of abolition being then postponed till the whole of this great question should be investigated to the bottom, a bill was in the mean time passed for regulating the transportation of slaves from Africa to the West Indies, in which various provisions were made for their health and accommodation, and bounties were humanely granted to the captains and surgeons of slave ships, of which the cargoes should be transported with the least possible loss upon the voyage.



On the 12th of May, 1789, Mr. *Wilberforce* moved a string of resolutions declaratory of the existing abuses of the slave trade, and laid a ground for a law to abolish it. On this side of the argument, embracing almost every topic that can give warmth to sentiment or force to language, lay the field for eloquence: in the mover of these resolutions, a man of the most amiable and respectable character, that eloquence was known to be founded on principle, and kindled by humanity. He was supported by most of the leading members of the House; among whom were the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Fox.

Those resolutions, enforced with a zeal equal to the abilities of such men as I have mentioned, lay on the table of the House of Commons as a text for the future discussion of the subject. But a great variety of additional evidence, on both sides of the question, was afterwards taken by a Select Committee, which occupied the remaining period of the Parliament; and it was not till the first session of the next that the House came to any decision.

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“ The slave trade,” said Mr. Wilberforce and the other supporters of his motion, “ might, *à priori*, from its very nature, be pronounced a trade of inhumanity, oppression, and guilt. But we are not left to supposition — a body of evidence is laid before the House, which shews it to be in kind what indeed we must have supposed it, but in degree beyond what the imagination of a good man could have led him even to conceive.”

“ In its first stage, what a scene of horror and devastation does it produce ! The wars of the Africans are not prompted by those motives, savage as they are, which have so often dazzled the fancy of cruel and unthinking men. Theirs is not the pride of conquest, or the plume of glory — it is the mere vulgar rapacity of a thief, or the avarice of a cheat, that rouses the kings of Africa to arms. We teach them wants, and the method of purchasing what those wants require by the blood; or, in the properer phrase of the shambles, by the flesh of their own subjects, or the subjects of their neighbours. The separation of parents and children, of husbands and

wives, the tearing asunder every bond of affection or of tenderness, are the first evils to which the survivors of those wars are doomed."

"But this," continued the favourers of the motion, "is only the opening scene of the tragedy. The transit of the negroes from Africa to the West Indies, so much misery condensed into so little room, it is hardly possible for those to conceive who never gasped in the tainted air of a slave ship, under the heat of a vertical sun." The detail of that situation was said to be too horrible and nauseous for repetition: they presented, therefore, a silent picture of it to the eye, which had a powerful effect upon the Public—the *section of a slave ship*, shewing the manner of stowing the wretched negroes on board, where, in the close package of airless holes, they often endured every degree of pain, disease, and filth, that is terrible or loathsome to nature. The mortality, in consequence, was affirmed to be enormous—about 50 per cent., which is ten times the amount of deaths in ordinary situations.

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“ Did there,” it was said, “ exist a necessity (as our interested luxury uses the word necessity) for this cruel traffic for the cultivation of our West-India islands, even that necessity would not justify the continuation of a trade so repugnant to justice ; but no such necessity exists, and the abolition of the slave trade is as reconcileable to our true political interests as it is consonant to the eternal principles of right, of conscience and humanity.”

“ The interest of the planters,” it was argued, “ was hurt by the excessive loss of the imported slaves into the West Indies, and the very great expence in renewing them. This is owing to a variety of causes, which would not occur if the culture of the islands were carried on by any other mode. The inequality of the sexes, the disorders contracted in the middle passage, the profligacy of their manners, the natural consequence of that neglect in point of instruction to which a slave must always be subject, who is considered as a beast of labour rather than a moral agent ; the ill treatment they receive, particularly the females in a state of pregnancy, or of nursing

nursing their infants, from their masters; or still more from their managers or overseers; the scanty allowance of provisions to which they were often stinted. All these evils," it was said, "would be prevented, or lessened, by the salutary necessity, which the abolition of the African market would impose, of a proper degree of care, attention, and mild treatment of the negroes. Besides the probable introduction of cattle and machinery, instead of slaves, in the culture of the plantations, the stock of negroes, if negroes must be used, may be profitably kept up without importation: it is so in America, where, from good treatment and a certain degree of domestication, their increase has been great and rapid; and even in the West Indies, notwithstanding all the causes which still subsist for their decrease, most of which the abolition would remove, that decrease has gradually, from the late improvements in their treatment, diminished; and in some of the last years the native slaves in several of the islands have actually increased, the decrease being only on the imported slaves."

“ If we feel not for the unhappy Africans,” it was said, “ yet we may be touched with the distresses of our own seamen. To them this traffic is nearly as mortal as to the negroes : and besides the loss by death, seamen often fall a sacrifice to the vengeance and retaliation of the Africans on the coast, or to the villany and covetousness of the masters of the slave ships after the disposal of their cargoes in the West Indies, who being obliged, for their safety on the passage thither, to have a greater number of hands than is necessary for their homeward voyage, take every opportunity of leaving part of their crew in the islands, or oblige them by ill usage to desert from their ships, when they often perish miserably from disease and want. Such are its effects on our marine, one of the grounds on which those who argued for the trade thought themselves strong. It has been defended as a nursery of seamen — it is, in fact, their dishonourable grave.”

“ If feeling its consequences in point of justice and humanity we are to condescend to compute its advantages in a commercial



mercial view, those boasted advantages will be found to have been greatly over-rated. In Liverpool, considered as the very center of this commerce, it forms but a thirtieth part of the export trade, and is but a sort of lottery, profitable indeed to individuals, but rather a losing trade on the whole. But if this inhuman traffic in men were abolished, Africa has many other articles for which a much more lucrative trade might be carried on: even in its present situation that country affords these; but their increase would be infinite, if, instead of the idleness, the vice, the murders, we teach them by the slave trade, we taught them, by the communication and reciprocal advantages of an honest traffic, the habits of industry, and the arts of agriculture and of manufactures."

The opposers of the abolition lay under many disadvantages which the natural, it may be said the laudable, prejudices of mankind, the completion of their arguments, and the appearance of partiality which their interest in the question threw upon those arguments, necessarily created. They endeavoured to appeal to the sober  
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understanding, to the cool deliberate prudence of the House, and cautioned it against the dangerous consequences which the Legislature's yielding to this momentary ebullition of romantic humanity might produce.

“ Justice, they argued, is antecedent to compassion, and the rights of property are as sacred as those of humanity. The property vested in the West-India islands, was so vested under the sanction of numberless acts of the British Legislature, deliberately, and some of them recently passed, several of which expressly authorise and encourage the slave trade. Seventy millions of property is computed to be vested in the West-India islands. Is Parliament prepared to strike off at once, or highly to endanger, this great mass of the national capital? to forego the industry it sets in motion, the revenue it produces, the seamen it employs?

“ The motive must be strong indeed that can authorise such a breach of public faith to the planters, such a violation of the duty of Parliament to their country and their constituents. That motive is

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humanity;

humanity ; but the fanaticism of humanity, like the fanaticism of religion, is deaf to reason and to truth, and often destructive of the very virtue to which it pretends. Does our humanity never think of the consequence of the wished-for abolition to the thousands of our own countrymen, whom it will reduce to distress and poverty ? What crime have they committed, that their possessions should be laid waste, and their property confiscated ? These persons, our national humanity, now awakened by a society of enthusiasts, after it had slept for 200 years amidst all the virtue and wisdom of our ancestors, these it overlooks, to indulge in the ideal prospect of distant objects on the continent of Africa.

“ But even to the natives of Africa our mistaken compassion will not be humanity. We can only abolish this trade for ourselves, for no other nation will be so unwise as to abolish it. In France, wilder than the wildest of us in abstract notions, fond as she is of revolution, and in the very honey-moon of liberty, the proposal of abolishing the slave trade was decidedly rejected

rejected by the National Assembly. Other nations therefore will, as in every other case, command the market which we have relinquished. They will purchase only what slaves they chuse, and the remainder will be butchered by their owners, who, is well known, take this method of disburthening themselves of the slaves they cannot sell. It is not in Africa as in civilized countries, where the demand regulates the supply. The whole system of that great continent must be changed, before we can apply to it our ideas of political institution or commercial arrangement. 'Tis a system of despotism and slavery throughout, where a few tyrants command the lives, and have a property in the persons, of the millions who inhabit it. The neighbouring nations go to war from a thousand different causes, as has always been the case in a barbarous country. The captives are either killed or sold into slavery. The encouragement which the trade in slaves gives to some of these wars, will still remain from the traffic carried on by other European nations on the coast. The price indeed will fall, from our declining

the purchase ; we shall not only lose the trade ourselves, but throw it, with a double advantage, into the hands of rival powers.

“ Many of the cruelties charged on the slave trade have, in truth, no relation to it, but arise from the depravity of individuals, which will every where be found to produce oppression and cruelty, if an inquisition like the present will but search and hunt for it. If our Legislative humanity is to search after private abuses, there is scarce a trade or manufacture in this country where such abuses will not be found to exist. In several of our manufactures the mortality of the children brought by their parents (the word *sold* might be used, for the parents bring them for the gain they are to make by their labour) is treble the amount of that on a West-India plantation, or even of a well-appointed and well-managed slave-ship.

“ The mortality indeed, both of the seamen and of the negroes, in the middle passage has been greatly exaggerated. On board those in which a common degree of attention is paid to the health of the slaves,

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(to which their value, independant of all feeling in the masters of the vessels, naturally incites) that mortality was by no means great, even before the regulation act of 1787. The provisions of that act will lessen it still farther. *Regulation* the West-India proprietors will gladly consent to and adopt. Shew them any regulation that will tend to the health and comfort of their negroes, and their interest, if you will not allow them any better motive, will keep pace with your humanity."

" But you will not allow them to know heir own interest, or the best method of carrying on the business of their plantations. You adopt that system of legislative interference and restriction on trade, which it is the greatest boast of modern philosophy to have exploded. You say that if the slave trade were abolished, they could keep up their stock more profitably by attending to the breeding up of their native slaves, than they now do by importation from Africa. They know perfectly well the inconvenience and expence of the importation, and the superior value of Creoles. But with all the attention which  
this



this experience can excite, they are not yet in a condition to keep up a sufficient stock for their plantations, without new purchases of negroes. The experiment has been tried in some of the Dutch plantations, which, by an impolitic prohibition of foreign slave ships, were almost ruined. Most of our West-India estates are understocked even in their present situation; but are they to be prohibited from any extension of their plantations, any means of improvement of those waste lands, amounting in Jamaica alone to about a million of acres, now patented from Government, for which large quit-rents are already paid, and large sums invested? The calculations of the advocates for abolition, even allowing their data, which however are grossly erroneous, are made on the present extent of the plantations, and on the state of the stock in ordinary years; they make no provision for those disastrous seasons in which hurricanes or epidemic diseases desolate the islands. They add to these natural evils the prospect of remediless bankruptcy and ruin to the proprietors; for a West-India estate is but a sort of manufacture,

facture, and a prohibition to recruit the number of the hands employed in it, is a virtual confiscation of the property."

" Equally fallacious are those methods of culture which the theory of those who argue for the abolition have pointed out to the planters. Repeated attempts have been made of cultivating the plantations by whites, and even great encouragements held out by the colonial assemblies for that purpose; but even with those encouragements the attempt was found impracticable. The same thing has happened with the experiments anxiously made of culture by cattle and machinery; but those things which their experience has long ago found impossible, the confident theorists of this new system hold out as easy and even profitable."

The ill treatment of the slaves in the West Indies was confidently affirmed to be neither general nor common; and appeals were made on that subject, to the testimony of some of the most respectable characters in the army and navy of Great Britain, some of whom had resided long in the islands, and had the best opportunity  
of

of witnessing the treatment of the negroes. The fact was said to be, that they were not only mildly and humanely treated, but that they enjoyed a greater degree of ease and comfort than the common labourers in many parts of Britain. Instances of barbarity might no doubt be found ; but such were known daily to happen in England, where apprentices have died under the cruelty of their masters ; but the law did not therefore proposed to abolish apprenticeship. Some of the opponents of the trade allowed a great improvement in the treatment of negroes in later times, and founded on the increase occasioned by it, an argument against the necessity of importation. — “ Suffer them then, it was said, to benefit by this gradual and progressive improvement, and do not, with rash and unadvised hand, cut off the chance of future prosperity in the planters, and of the consequent melioration in the state of their negroes, whose situation must always be proportionate to the flourishing or distressed situation of their masters.”

To some of these arguments in defence of the present system it was replied, “ that  
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granting Africa to be in a state of as much barbarity as was represented, that barbarity was maintained and increased by the trade in question. That if the other branches of commerce, of which that country is susceptible, were encouraged, which would be the natural effect of the abolition of the slave trade, industry and civilization would take place of those savage manners which were now made an excuse for our own guilt and inhumanity, to which their continuance was chiefly to be ascribed."

The conclusion drawn from the interest of the slave merchant and the planter prompting their good treatment of the slaves, was repelled as contrary to all experience and knowledge of human nature. "Interest, it was said, has never been able to control the violence of passion, or the extravagance of caprice, when there was an unlimited power of indulging them. The familiar instance of the treatment of our beasts of burthen, to which the condition of the negroes is too nearly similar, was cited as an example in point. Under this argument of the prevalence of interest over inclination, half the crimes and

follies of civilized life, it was urged, might be demonstrated to be impossible."

"That the situation of the slaves was happy and comfortable, was said to be an assertion repugnant to every one's feelings. But there was a horrid proof of the contrary in the many instances of suicide among the negroes. The insurrections too, which they sometimes ventured, desperate and hopeless as they were, shewed strongly their sense of the sufferings they endured. This was one of those evils which the system of slavery necessarily inflicted on the masters of slaves, the suspicion, the fear, the danger, with which they were surrounded."

"The argument against the interference of the Legislature in the management or conduct of the planters, might, it was observed, be carried the length of precluding all improvement whatsoever. Here again, the argument of attention to their proper interests is set up, to prove the impracticability of any change in their mode of culture. But the indolence of habit overcomes in the bulk of men the motive of interest, if that interest is not a very direct and immediate

mediate one. The same objection of the impossibility of any other than the established mode of cultivation might have been made, some centuries ago, to any man who should have ventured to propose the emancipation of the *Serfs* as a practicable measure. Yet it will not be denied, that the improvement of modern Europe is chiefly owing to that circumstance."

Notwithstanding the eloquence with which these arguments were enforced, and the weight and authority of those Members by whom they were urged, the abolition of the slave trade, which had been only brought the length of inquiry in this Parliament, was negatived, at a pretty early period of the succeeding one, by a majority of 163 to 88.



## SECTION VIII. 156-170

*The Regency.* |

OF one event, fortunately as transient as it was unexpected, by which the deliberations of this Parliament on any other subject were for a time suspended, I have not hitherto made mention. I should, indeed, have been unwilling to take notice of it at all, had it not produced discussions, as well as resolutions of the representative body, of the first importance to the Constitution. I mean the illness of the King, and the proceedings on the supposed impending *Regency*, in the end of the year 1788, and the beginning of 1789.

Parliament had been prorogued, in the customary manner, to the 20th of November 1788, but without its being intended to meet at that time for the dispatch of business. The tranquillity, even the prosperity of the State, were such as not to require its meeting till a later period. But that tranquillity

quillity was interrupted by the unlooked-for event of His Majesty's being seized with an indisposition of the most serious and afflicting kind, by which he was totally incapacitated from meeting Parliament, from any mental exertion, or from transacting any sort of business.

This was announced to the House of Commons, on the above-mentioned day of their meeting, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who at the same time moved an adjournment to that day fortnight. The House assented, with a silence impressed by the striking and melancholy event which had been communicated to them. The same impression was stamped on the mind of the people, who looked up to their representatives with that earnest and solemn expectation which distress excites, for a calm, deliberate, impartial determination, respecting the measures which it became them to take on this interesting and awful occasion.

The House was afterwards farther adjourned to the 8th of December, on which day a Committee was appointed to examine the physicians who had attended His Majesty

jesty during his illness. On the 10th of  
 December that Committee made its report.  
 From that report it appeared, that His Ma-  
 jesty was utterly incapable of exercising his  
 functions ; and though it contained strong  
 hopes of his recovery, yet such expected  
 recovery was too uncertain, and might be  
 too distant to admit of a delay in taking  
 those steps which the exigency of the time  
 required. Another Committee was there-  
 fore appointed “ to search for and report  
 “ precedents of such proceedings as may  
 “ have been had in case of the personal  
 “ exercise of the royal authority being  
 “ prevented or interrupted by infancy,  
 “ sickness, infirmity, or otherwise, with a  
 “ view to provide for the same.”

It was on this occasion that Mr. Fox  
 brought forth that memorable claim which  
 provoked so much discussion both in Par-  
 liament and among the people, that “ the  
 “ *Heir Apparent* of the Crown, being of  
 “ full age and capacity to exercise the royal  
 “ power, has as clear and express a right  
 “ to assume the reins of Government, du-  
 “ ring the continuance of the illness and  
 “ incapacity with which it has pleased God  
 “ to

“ to afflict His Majesty, as in the case of  
 “ His Majesty having undergone a natural  
 “ and perfect demise.”

This claim seemed, from the aspect of the House, to be favoured by a considerable party in it. By a majority, however, it was received with equal surprize and disapprobation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, with a warmth natural in the cause of freedom in a free country, declared, “ that to assert such a right in the  
 “ Prince of Wales, or any one else, independent of the decision of the two  
 “ Houses of Parliament, was little less  
 “ than *treason* to the Constitution. The  
 “ assertion of such a right, he said, shewed,  
 “ in the strongest manner, the necessity of  
 “ the enquiry for which he had moved.  
 “ It behoved them to meet this claim on  
 “ the surest grounds ; to learn and to ascertain their own rights ; to protect the  
 “ rights and interests of their constituents,  
 “ and the interest and honour of a Sovereign deservedly the idol of his people.”  
 He cautioned the House against “ rashly  
 “ annihilating and annulling the authority  
 “ of Parliament, in which the existence of  
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“ the Constitution was so intimately involved.”

Mr. Fox, on a subsequent day, abated somewhat of the strength of the claim which he had made, by explaining his meaning, *universally* misunderstood before, to have been, not that this right was such as the Prince could assume of himself, but such only as attached to him on the King's incapacity being declared by Parliament. Afterwards the party, who had rather unadvisedly brought forth this claim, wished to avoid its discussion altogether ; and though one gentleman, affecting to be much in the Prince's confidence, rashly ventured to throw out a sort of threat against provoking its assertion, the more politic Members on the Opposition side of the House argued the inexpediency of interrupting or protracting their proceedings by agitating a question of this abstract kind. But it was a question which, having once been stirred, was of a magnitude not to be overlooked. It produced a long and solemn debate, which ended in the adoption, by a considerable majority, of three resolutions moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of which

which the second went directly to the determination of this point, so essential to the constitution of the country. These resolutions were :

1st “ That His Majesty is prevented by his present indisposition from coming to his Parliament, and from attending to public business ; and that the personal exercise of the royal authority is thereby for the present interrupted.”

2d. “ That it is the right and duty of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, now assembled, and lawfully, fully, and freely, representing all the estates of the people of this realm, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority arising from His Majesty’s said indisposition, in such manner as the exigency of the case may appear to require.”

3d. “ That for this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the King, it is necessary that the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, should determine on the means, whereby the royal assent

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may



may be given in Parliament, to such bill as may be passed by the two Houses of Parliament, respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the Crown, in the name and on the behalf of the King, during the continuance of His Majesty's present indisposition."

With these resolutions the voice of the nation seemed decidedly to concur. It was not, indeed, without a great degree of surprise that the people had heard men, whom they had been accustomed to regard as the supporters of those maxims of a free government, known by the name of *Whig* principles, pronounce an assertion so nearly allied to that doctrine of *hereditary and indefeasible right*, which the present age can scarcely believe to have been one of the follies of the last. The claim in question was, indeed, so weakly defended at the time, and has since been so entirely abandoned, that it may, perhaps, be thought needless to have mentioned it so much at large; but it is necessary to record public doctrines, however extravagant or ill founded, because, by an equal violence or blindness of party, they

they may, on some future occasion, be urged.

The *right* of Parliament being thus solemnly recognized, the mode, as well as the extent of its exercise of that right, was the subject of much future discussion and debate. As to the first, it was, indeed, difficult to apply to the mould of established forms a proceeding of a new and unprecedented kind. The mode proposed by the third resolution, of a bill to be passed by the two Houses of Parliament, receiving the royal assent in virtue of a commission issued under the authority of an act of the Parliament itself, involved a legal fiction which, though it might be justified by the necessity of the case, afforded much opportunity for the argument and the ridicule of Opposition. But it was a mode suggested by a just and scrupulous adherence to the analogies, and to the forms, of the Constitution, and a respect which, perhaps, the circumstances of the moment might strengthen for the regal office. It was important in providing for this exigency, that the power inherent in Parliament, as the

organ of the people to supply in this emergency the deficiency of the executive government, should not go beyond the necessity on which it was founded; and that the mode of exercising it should recognise, on the very fact of it, the regal authority as an essential part of the Constitution.

The discretionary Exercise of this power involved several particulars, which were afterwards comprised in the *Regency Bill*, brought in by the Minister on the 5th of February, 1789. By that bill the Prince of Wales was empowered “to exercise the royal authority during His Majesty’s illness;” with a provision, however, that the care of His Majesty’s person, and the management of his household, including the direction and appointment of all the officers and servants of that household, should be vested in *Her Majesty*. The powers of the Regent were subjected to certain restrictions. They were not to extend to the granting of Peerages, except to any of His Majesty’s issue when arrived at the age of 21; nor to granting any office in reversion; nor to granting for any other term  
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than during pleasure, any pension, or any office, except such as the law directs to be granted during life or good behaviour; nor to granting any of the real or personal property of the King, except the renewal of leases held under the Crown.

These restrictions were strenuously opposed in both Houses of Parliament. They were represented as laying a foundation for a weak, a defective, and a divided Government. The rights of the Crown, it was contended, were given it for the benefit of the People to enable it to carry on the functions of the executive power with that energy and effect which are necessary to the welfare of the State. The crippled and mutilated authority which this bill left with the Regent, would be inadequate to those salutary purposes. Its restrictions, it was argued, separated from the regal office, the royal functions, and prerogatives which the Constitution had determined to be necessary to support the legitimate power of the Sovereign, which, without them, therefore, must be sunk below that place which the Constitution had wisely assigned it.

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It was maintained on the opposite side; that the Restrictions in question were indispensable in the present case. Parliament was not now making a King ! it was only providing for a temporary suspension of the kingly functions ; and it was bound to consider the personal rights of the existing Monarch, and to provide for his resumption of his political rights, whenever it should please God to restore his capacity of exercising them. The powers of the Regent ought to be limited by the same unfortunate necessity by which they were created, and Parliament was called upon by every principle of duty to their country, by every feeling of loyalty to their King, to take care that His Majesty should find, on his recovery, his rights entire, un infringed, and unabated, by any act of his People, or their representatives, during an indisposition, of which they hoped and must provide for the cessation.

In the House of Lords the proceedings were similar to those in the House of Commons, and the arguments in debate were founded on the same principles.

During

During the debates which the various provisions and restrictions of the Regency Bill occasioned, which lasted till the middle of February, the Public watched with a degree of interest and anxiety proportioned to the importance and nature of the subject, the opinions of individuals, and the movements of party. They had sometimes to regret the violence of the one, and the intemperance of the other, so ill according with that solemn and awful impression which the consideration of their sovereign's afflictive state, and of the probable situation of public affairs, was calculated to produce. They heard expressions applied to the first, by men whose talents and whose characters they wished to respect, equally devoid of dignity, of delicacy, and of feeling. They saw that party whom it was supposed the establishment of the Regency would introduce into Administration, forget, in the inordinate desire, in the voracity of power, the interests of their country, and the rights of their King. They looked with the regrets of affection, on the conduct of the illustrious and amiable personage, who  
 was



was understood to be the support of that party. It was the first time they had heard the name of a Prince of the House of Brunswick jar with those principles of freedom and the Constitution by which (the proudest of all titles) his Family had ascended the Throne. They lamented his being, as they conceived, misled by designing men, who, bending his interests in subservience to their to own, endangered their separation from those of the country ; and they looked with a gloomy presage to the elevation of such men into power, which they had anticipated with so little regard to the welfare or the feelings of the People. The measures of that party they contrasted with those of their opponents, with a partiality to the latter, which perhaps their master's situation tended to excite. Covered with the shade of his affliction, his Ministers challenged the respect and favour of his People ; who, with an equal zeal of Patriotism, and a sympathetic affection of loyalty, saw them prepare, with a calm and conscious dignity, for a dismissal from place and power, regardless of themselves, and  
only

only tenacious of the rights of their fellow-citizens, and of their Sovereign.

But the virtue which the people supposed in the one, or the ambition which they imputed to the other, were equally stopped in their exertion, by the happy event of His Majesty's recovery, which took place about the middle, and was communicated to Parliament before the end of February. The joy of the nation was as unbounded as it was sincere, and the King had the peculiar felicity to find himself restored to health, of which the enjoyment was rendered doubly a blessing by the most signal proofs of the fidelity and affection of his subjects. It was a situation new, as it was interesting, in the fate of a King, who can seldom have the good fortune to experience, after such a vicissitude, the pure affections of his People, unbribed by the hopes of favour, or undazzled by the glare of victory. To hear that voice (as the *Apotheosis* of the poets have feigned of Kings after their death) which had certainly arisen undebased by the fears of the weak, the expectations of the selfish, or the

flattery of the mean. The People, by a combination not less unusual, while they enjoyed the restoration of their Monarch, felt the energy of the Constitution, and triumphed in the virtue of the Parliament. They rested with peculiar satisfaction on the late recognition of this great constitutional principle, that in Parliament alone, as their Representative, resides the power of regulating every emergency not already provided for by the express law, or by the known established custom of the realm.

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## CONCLUSION.

I Have thus, with a slight, but I hope not unfaithful pencil, sketched the principal features of the Parliament 1784. Its proceedings were so momentous, whether we regard their importance at the time, or look to their consequences in future, that I think  
I shall

I shall be readily excused for recalling them to the remembrance of the public. Any comments with which I have ventured to accompany their recital, I leave to the judgement of my fellow citizens ; with the more confidence, because I have only endeavoured to express what I believe to have been the sentiments of the unbiaſſed and respectable part of the community. But the impartiality of the people is not indifference ; they feel, and I participate in their feelings, a proper gratitude to thoſe whoſe meaſures they believe to have conduced to the proſperity and honour of the State ; and they feel a proportionable diſapprobation, when ſuch meaſures are embarrassed and impeded, if they conceive the oppoſition to them to have ariſen from envy, ſelf-interest, or ambition. A preference founded on theſe conſiderations is not an attachment to party — it is the attachment of a good citizen to his country — of a good man to virtue.

Though it may not be a popular doctrine, yet I believe it is one which moderate and thinking men will admit, that in Great

Britain, the nature of its Government, the continual superintendence of Parliament, the weight of public opinion, and the influence which all these circumstances must have on the character and conduct of persons in official situations, afford a much greater probability than in other countries that the Administration will ordinarily be at least right in its intentions, and will adopt its measures from a belief that they are such as will tend to the benefit of the nation. The men who attain the high departments of the State in Britain, are commonly such as, from their education, their habits of life, and their situation with regard to the community, have much stronger motives to purity and uprightness in their public conduct, than to the contrary. The aristocracy of Great Britain is essentially different from the aristocracy in other monarchical Governments of Europe ; its rights are more attached to personal merit, and less to accidental advantages ; it is as much an aristocracy of talents as of rank. The term *gentleman* in Britain, is a title which is annexed not exclusively to birth,

as in other countries, but to qualities generally indeed attendant on a certain rank in society, a liberal education, a well-informed mind ; to elegant deportment and honourable sentiments. Hence arises a very great difference in this from other countries, both in that order of men out of which Ministers are to be taken, and in that class also by which they are to be judged. The first has no privilege by which it can impose, nor the last any feeling by which it can be imposed on, in the conduct of public measures. There is in Britain no protection for the Court against the prevailing opinion of the community, that could cover the dissipation, the debauchery, the capricious extravagance, the thoughtless inhumanity, which, from the interior of so many palaces, have spread oppression and ruin over devoted millions.

It is material to consider from whence arises this general safeguard, which the Public possesses against the malversation of Ministers, against the intentional abuse, or the ignorant misapplication, of the powers with which they are entrusted. The popular

lar



lar nature of our Government furnishes, as has been already stated, a check, of which the operation is constant, because it is excited by natural and unceasing causes. The opportunity which Parliament affords to the young, the bustling, the ambitious, of canvassing public measures, is one of those salutary counterpoises which our constitution affords against the weight of the executive power. The *Opposition* in Britain is a sort of public body, which, in the practice at least of our Government, is perfectly known and established. The province of this ex-official body, when it acts in a manner salutary to the State, is to watch, with jealousy, over the conduct of Administration; to correct the abuses, and to resist the corruptions of its power; to restrain whatever may be excessive, to moderate what may be inconsiderate, and to supply what may be defective in its measures.

In the exercise of its functions, if they may so be called, Opposition has advantages by which those obvious ones, often mentioned on the side of Administration,

are balanced ; if, on the one hand, patronage strengthens Administration, on the other, the discontent and envy of the disappointed are often thrown into the scale of Opposition ; if Administration has superior opportunities of information, Opposition is not restrained by official secrecy ; if Administration imposes by its dignity, Opposition wins by its familiarity with the People ; and if Administration enjoys active occasions of acquiring popularity, Opposition, on the other hand, suffers none of the embarrassments which result from delicate and perplexing situations. Censure has not the responsibility of action ; and in debate or discussion, he who objects or blames may often object at random, and blame without certainty ; the burden of proof is almost always thrown upon Administration. Opposition is seldom obliged to act on the defensive, but has always the warmth, the vivacity, and the enthusiasm of an assailant.

The respect, as well as the usefulness, of this censorial representative of the People, (if I may be allowed to give it that denomination)

denomination) depends on the manner in which its faculties are exerted. If its resistance to the measures of Government is unreasonable, or its objections captious; if it passes those bounds within which the justice of the People would confine its censure, and departs from that consistency in argument, or that principle in conduct, which their understanding is always able to perceive, and which their honesty always expects, the confidence of the Public is proportionally withdrawn, and the respectability of Opposition diminished. But, above all, if the purity of its motives be impeached, or the dignity of its character degraded; if it holds an interest opposite to that of the nation, of which it enjoys the calamities and repines at the success; if it breathes an ambition of that unprincipled sort that would build its own advancement on the ruin of the Constitution, no talents, no abilities, can redeem its reputation with the country.

The misapplication of those abilities, the perversion of those talents, may, however, sometimes have effects more pernicious

cious than the authority of the men who possess them should be able to produce. Britain is fertile in speculation. In politics, as in science, there are so many speculatists in this country, that if Opposition, or the worst and most desperate part of Opposition, applies itself to make proselytes against the Constitution, it will find, in the discontent of the spleenetic, or the caprice of the fanciful, converts to any system that has novelty and boldness to recommend it.

In this situation, the people will judge for themselves; they will not rest on the authority of men, whose talents, in their perversion, are armed against the happiness of their fellow-citizens. They will review with impartiality the train of public measures which their observation has enabled them to trace, and consider the effects which those measures have produced on the nation. The distrust of power is natural, and an inquiry into the uses to which it has been applied is the privilege of freemen. The wise and the good, however, will certainly feel a satisfaction in the

favourable result of such inquiry ; to such men, to praise a Minister will be more agreeable than to censure him ;—but that consideration is of little importance—the gratification which they will feel, is the prosperity of their country.

THE END.

*Oregon*

A

GENERAL VIEW, &c.





Page 1045

A

GENERAL VIEW

OF THE

VARIATIONS

WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE

IN THE

A F F A I R S

OF THE

EAST-INDIA COMPANY,

SINCE THE

CONCLUSION OF THE WAR, IN INDIA,  
IN 1784.

By GEORGE ANDERSON, A. M.

Accountant to the Commissioners for the Affairs of India,

Printed in the Year 1792.



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# V A L U A T I O N

## O F T H E

### CURRENCY OF INDIA AND CHINA.

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#### A T B E N G A L.

12 Pice make 1 Ana.			
16 Anas, one Current Rupee, valued at	£.	s.	d.
	-		2
1,00,000 Rupees, one Lac	-	10,000	
100 Lacs, one Crore	-	1,000,000	

#### A T M A D R A S.

80 Cash make one Fanam.			
36 Fanams, one Pagoda, valued at	£.	s.	d.
	-		8
1,00,000 Pagodas, one Lac	-	40,000	
100 Lacs, one Crore	-	4,000,000	

#### A T B O M B A Y.

100 Reas make one Quarter.			
4 Quarters, one Rupee, valued at	£.	s.	d.
	-		2 3
1,00,000 Rupees, one Lac	-	11,250	
100 Lacs, one Crore	-	1,125,000	

#### A T B E N C O O L E N. s. d.

100 Satallees make one Sooco,		
4 Sooco's one Dollar		
The Dollar is valued at		5

#### A T C H I N A.

10 Cash make one Candarine.	
10 Candarines, one Mace.	
10 Mace, 1 Tale.	
72 Tales are equal to 100 Spanish Dollars.	

Besides these there are various denominations of money at the several Presidencies in India; but the accounts are generally kept in the above; the others being reduced to them at fixed rates.





## INTRODUCTION.

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THE exclusive Charter of the East-India Company being near its expiration, and its renewal on the point of becoming a subject of discussion, a particular reference will naturally be made to the effects, which, under the present system of government, have been produced by the plans adopted, and arrangements made, for conducting the Company's affairs. As far as respects that part of their finances which belongs to the territorial possessions in the East-Indies, the subject for the last five years has undergone an ample discussion in the House of Commons, and resolutions, exhibiting their situation, have been annually entered on its Journals. But as the Commissioners for the affairs of India were not invested with any superintendence over the commercial concerns of the Company, or responsibility

B for

for the direction of them, the state of their trade has not been investigated in a similar manner.

A variety of accounts, however, relative to the Company's commerce, and the general state of their affairs, have been annually moved for, and laid before the House of Commons, from which, and a few accounts\* relative to the same subject, which have been since prepared, together with the statements respecting the revenues of India, it is intended in the following sheets to give a general condensed view of the finances of the Company, including as well, the profits on their import and export trade, as the amount realized from the revenues of the territorial possessions in India, since the termination of the late war there in 1784, to the commencement of the present hostilities with Tippoo Sultan.

As

\* These are the amount of bills drawn from St. Helena. Supplies from India to China. Amount received for Bullion in China ;—and sale of exports in China, in 1786.

As the result of this statement will be found essentially different from that of the several publications on the East-India Company's affairs, which have lately appeared, it may perhaps be expected that some reference should be made to them, stating the reasons for such differences. This has been done in a few instances; but the generality of these productions, being written for particular purposes, or by persons who did not understand the subject, abound so much with inaccuracies, that to enter into a general refutation of their unfounded conclusions, would require a tedious detail of erroneous statements, and inaccurate computations, which could afford but little information on the situation of the East-India Company's affairs: and a detail of this nature is the less necessary, because the facts hereafter stated, carry on the face of them, a complete refutation of the results which the writers above referred to, have attempted to establish.

Excepting therefore, a few instances, in which, from particular circumstances, it appeared in some degree necessary to advert to those publications, the following sheets are confined to a statement of facts, with such observations and explanations as the nature of the accounts from which they are taken seemed to require. And to the whole, an Appendix is annexed, containing the abstracts of the several accounts from which the general result is drawn; and in order to enable any person who may wish it, to examine these statements more particularly, and compare them with the accounts laid before the House of Commons, the number by which each account is distinguished, and the date when it was ordered to be printed by that House, is added by way of reference.

Previous however, to stating the results of these accounts, it seems proper to offer some observations, explanatory of the nature of them, and of the manner in which they are made up.

The

The Constitution of the East-India Company is in general sufficiently well understood: From being a society of merchants, merely occupied in trade, between Great Britain and the East-Indies, they have arisen by negotiation and conquest, to the sovereign authority over a large and fertile Empire in India, which yields a revenue of about six and a half millions sterling per annum.

From this mixture of a delegated sovereign power, and an extensive trade, the transactions of the East-India Company assume a complicated form, and the situation of their finances, particularly, can only be determined by considering them in both these capacities—As Sovereigns, with respect to the amount realized from the territorial possessions in India, and the subsidies of their allies—and as Merchants with respect, to the profits of their commerce.

In the former capacity, a correct account of the amount received from  
the



the rents, customs, duties, and subsidies, payable to them, and the expences incurred for the support of the Civil Government and Military Establishments in each year, would be sufficient to ascertain what variations had taken place in their finances for any given period ; or the same might be determined by comparing the amount of their debts, and sums unappropriated in their treasuries, at the beginning and end of such period. But, as merchants, who employ the net produce of the India provinces, and a large capital besides, in the purchase of articles of commerce, the amount realized by their trade, and the value of the several articles invested in it, at different times, are of equal importance with the amount of their debts and treasure. For the fluctuation to which trade is subject, from the intervention, partly of variable, and partly of permanent causes, necessarily produces very considerable variations in the amount required to carry it on, at different periods ; and consequently the debts owing by the proprietors

tors may be diminished, or their treasure encreased, and *vice versâ*, without a proportional change being made in the general state of their affairs. In the case of a decreasing trade, less sums are necessary to be invested in the articles of traffick, and a part of the debt is discharged, or the cash is encreased by the amount no longer wanted for this purpose: and considered only in respect to their debts and treasure, such a Company would appear in an improving situation, although it must be evident that they would be directly in the reverse. In the case of an increasing trade, the contrary to this happens, as the larger the sums are that become necessary to be employed in trade, the less remain to be applied to the discharge of debts, or to accumulate in the treasury; and perhaps new debts may be contracted, to raise the amount required to be invested in the articles of commerce. But if the sums so applied, be invested in articles which will probably produce a profitable return, it is equally evident, that their affairs

Assets.

airs must in reality be in an improving state. As merchants, therefore, the property on hand, belonging to the Company, both at home and abroad, which is, or can be applied to the purposes of commerce, forms a necessary part of every statement of their affairs: these are called the *Assets* of the Company.

✓ If, as holders of the territories in India, under the British government, we were to consider the Company as the proprietors of them, the value of those possessions would be to be considered in a statement of their finances: It is, however, impossible to ascertain the value of their interest in those territories, while the respective claims of the Public, and the Company remain undecided; and at all events, a valuation of that nature would be subject to variations from time to time, according as occurrences affected the political situation of the British government in India. But as the possession of those provinces has hitherto been left to the Company, and as they have expended

pended large sums in the building of factories, fortifications, magazines, barracks, and in ammunition, carriages, sloop, vessels, plantations, &c. for the acquisition and maintenance of them; it has been usual for the Company, in making up a general statement of their debts and credits at home and abroad (which is called *flock per computation*), to add a memorandum, of the amount so expended, at the foot of that account.

Stock per  
computa-  
tion.

The sums thus stated, amount to several millions sterling, and as new forts, &c. are built, or old ones repaired, the total is encreased.

The several articles abovementioned, compose the principal part of what is called the *Dead-Stock of the Company*, and the sums expended on it, are computed as the amount which the acquisition and support of the dead-stock has cost the Company\*. But as this species of property

Dead  
stock.

\* In 1702, when the union of the two East-India Companies was in agitation, an award was made of the value of the settle-  
ments

perty is unproductive of itself, its real value must depend upon the importance to the Company, and the Public, of that property which is productive, or which may be rendered so, the possession of which is secured by maintaining those forts, factories, &c.

The dead-stock accounts are made up quarterly, at each of the presidences in India, and contain, besides the particulars above stated, a large amount of debts owing to the Company, which they no longer expect to recover, but are retained in these accounts, under the heads of *doubtful* or *desperate* debts, as statements of the losses which the Company have sustained, or sums they have been prevented from receiving by various

ments which each possessed in India. Those belonging to the old Company were valued at 200,000*l.*; and those of the new at 70,000*l.* The new Company therefore advanced 130,000*l.* to make their stock equal to the old, and the total 400,000*l.* is stated in the *stock per computation*, as the amount paid by the United Company, for their dead stock in India at that time, to which a memorandum of the sums since expended in articles of the same nature is added.

Vide No. 25 of the accounts laid before Parliament in 1791.

various circumstances. In the account of stock, however, which is made up at home, these items are totally rejected; and, for the reasons already stated, respecting the difficulty of ascertaining the value of the other articles of dead stock in India, no article of that nature is included in any of the statements in the following sheets \*.

The expenses of the articles above-mentioned, and the charges of the several wars in which the Company have been engaged for the acquisition and maintenance of their territories in India, have involved them in debts to a large amount, the interest of which is a heavy burthen on the revenues.

These debts, together with such as have been incurred in India for commercial purposes, form the debit side of what is called *The Quick Stock of the Company* in India, which is in

C 2

like

Quick  
Stock.

\* The sums expended in each year on buildings and fortifications, form a part of the annual expenses, and are charged against the receipts from the territorial revenues.



like manner made up quarterly. The credit side of this statement consists of the various assets reckoned available at the time of making up the account\*. The object of these Quick Stock accounts is to exhibit the balance of the Company's affairs, in respect to the debts which they owe, and the property which they are possessed of in money, or that may be converted into money, and applied to the liquidation of those debts, or which is applicable to purposes for which cash must otherwise be supplied. The difference between the value of this property so computed, and the amount of debts, is called the *Balance of Quick Stock*.

The

\* These are,

The cash and bills receivable in the Treasury.

The value of stores and provisions for use and sale.

———— of goods imported from Europe to be sold.

———— of goods provided to be sent home for sale.

The amount of debts owing to the Company for revenues uncollected; subsidies from their Allies unpaid; advances made to the Manufacturers of India goods for which the Contractors had not made a return; and other debts deemed good at the period of making up the account.

The value of salt, opium, and grain for sale, and cattle for use.

The other accounts from India, which will be referred to, are *Estimates of Receipts and Disbursements*, which are made up annually at each of the Presidencies for the current year, soon after its commencement.

Estimates  
of Re-  
ceipts and  
Disburse-  
ments,

These shew the amount of the revenues which the governments in India expect to receive in the year, and charges which they suppose will be incurred. Besides which, they contain various articles of resource and expenditure, which arise from commercial and other transactions\*.

But

\* These consist of,

Balance of cash in the Treasuries, at the beginning of the year.

Amount expected to be received from the sale of goods received from Europe.

Sale of stores.

Supplies expected at the other Settlements from Bengal.

Debts from individuals, supposed likely to be paid.

Bills to be drawn on the Court of Directors.

Bonds to be issued, &c. &c.

On the other side of the Account.

The charges in arrear at the beginning of the year are inserted.

Interest on the outstanding debts.

The amount to be applied to the purchase of goods for Europe.

Expenses supposed likely to be incurred at Bengal, for supplies to the other Settlements.

Bonds to be cancelled, bills to be discharged, &c.

And at Bengal the whole of the outstanding certificates, (which amounts to upwards of a mil-  
lion

But in order to place the estimates, belonging to each year, in a more simple point of view, the estimated  
current

lion and a half), and almost every other article of debt, except the bond debt, is included in the estimate as if it were to be paid in the year, in order to shew the total sum that would be wanting to discharge the current expenses, and all incumbrances of former years, except the bond debts.

From this circumstance, in all the estimates formed since the late war, the total of sums stated as to be paid, has exceeded the amount of expected receipts; which has induced persons, not conversant in this subject, sometimes to imagine that the expenses of the year, at that Presidency, exceeded its resources; whereas, in fact, this part of the estimated disbursements constitutes a floating debt, not chargeable on the annual revenues of any one year, but on the whole of the territorial possessions, and therefore cannot have any particular reference to the year for which the estimate is made.

N. B. The certificate-debt originated in the year 1785 in consequence of a plan adopted to put the large amount of arrears then outstanding in a regular train of liquidation. For the orders on the Bengal treasury, and other arrears, exclusive of bonds, as appears from an account laid before Parliament 15th February 1786, amounted, on the 30th April 1785, to 1,83,90,094 current rupees or 1,839,009*l.* at Bengal only; and as it was impossible to discharge so large a sum immediately, in addition to the current demands, the government there issued notes to the creditors, bearing an interest of 8 per cent. which were made payable in the order they were granted. Since that period the arrears, &c. transferred from the other settlements have rendered it necessary for the Bengal government to keep nearly an equal amount of certificates in circulation, new ones having been issued as the old ones have been discharged.

current revenues and charges are extracted from this general account, and form a separate statement.

Since the accounts of the Revenues and Charges of India have been made a subject of Parliamentary investigation, annually, statements of the actual amount of the Receipts and Expenditure compared with the estimate, have been ordered to be prepared at the close of each year. These, as far as they have been completed, at the same time that they shew with what degree of accuracy the estimates are formed, ascertain the actual amount of the Revenues collected, and the Charges incurred, paid, or to be paid in each year, and are in this respect different from the Accounts laid before Parliament of the annual Revenues and Charges *defrayed* at each Presidency, (which are made up from the general books), as these last contain the whole of the payments made in each year, under their respective heads; the total of which may be proportionally greater than the charges belonging to those years, if arrears be discharged, or proportionally

Comparison of the  
Estimates  
and actual  
Accounts.

proportionally less, if debts be incurred.

China  
Accounts

With regard to China, the transactions of the Company there being merely of a commercial nature, the only accounts requisite, as to the situation of their affairs in that country, are such as show the amount of their receipts and payments in the course of the import and export trade, and the balance of *Quick-Stock*\*.

Home  
Accounts.

The Company's *Home Accounts*, besides the general state of their receipts and payments, in the ordinary course of their commercial transactions, involve in them some points which are blended with their political concerns in India. The expences of raising recruits in Great Britain and Ireland, the payments made to his Majesty's regiments serving in India,

Expences  
at home  
on ac-  
count of  
India.

\* These statements consist of,  
The amount of cash in the Treasury.  
Supplies in bullion and goods received from India.  
Goods and bullion from Great-Britain.  
Bills drawn on the Court of Directors.  
The prime cost of cargoes shipped for Europe,  
and the value of goods remaining at the factory.  
Debts owing to the Traders there, or due from them to the Company.

India, the half-pay to officers returned from thence, and several other articles of charge at home, are incurred on account of the territorial possessions. A part also of the sums paid in particular years, and of the debts owing by the Company, arises from the bills of exchange which have been drawn from India, to defray expences of the same nature incurred there. On the other hand, the excess of the cost of goods received from India above the total of the value of the exports from Great Britain, and of the amount of bills drawn from thence, and of the charges incurred at home, as already described, is the amount realized by the Company from the revenues of India. These receipts and charges at home belong to the Company as possessors of the British provinces in India. Their other receipts and payments are of a commercial nature \*.

Receipts  
at home  
from India.

The

\* These consist of,  
The amount received for goods sold.  
Profits and customs on goods imported by private traders.  
Money borrowed by bonds, raised on stock, &c.  
and the interest which Government pay for the sums which the Company have advanced at different times on the renewal of their charters.

D

And



Affets at  
home.

The affets of the Company at home, are all of a commercial nature, except some old claims on Government for expences defrayed in the war that ended in 1763 \*.

Loan to  
Govern-  
ment.

The amount owing to them from Government, was advanced at different periods, from 1698 to 1744, either on the grant or on renewals of their exclusive charter ; these sums were lent at different rates of interest, (viz. the first loan at 8, the second at

And receipts on account of the Alms-Houses at Poplar.

The payments are,

The customs and duties to Government on the goods sold.

The charges of freight of their goods.

Interest of loans, together with the charges attending the sale of those goods, &c. which are called Charges of Merchandize.

The amount paid for goods, stores, and bullion exported to India and China, and the bills of exchange from thence paid.

The interest on their bonds and annuities, and the dividends on their capital stock, and the repayment of money borrowed.

\* These are for subsistence to French prisoners, expences of an expedition to Manilla, and hospital expences of his Majesty's troops ; the total is 422,011l. but is reckoned of a doubtful nature in the report of the Committee of Proprietors in 1782. The sums are however retained in the account of Affets.

at 5, and the last at 3 per cent.); but in consequence of the Act for reducing the rate of interest on the National Debt, in 1750, the rate on the total was finally settled at 3 per cent. and the Company were empowered to grant annuities of the interest so received, in order to discharge a part of the large bond debts which they owed at that period, and accordingly the greater part of the amount was disposed of to annuitants, which forms an article on the debit side of the statement \*.

The

\* In 1698, the Company lent to Government 2,000,000*l.*; and in 1707, when the Old and New Companies were united into one, under their present title, they advanced 1,200,000*l.* more. To this amount they were allowed to raise money; and it hence happened, that the sum lent to Government was called the Capital Stock of the Company, and became confounded with the trading stock, although it must be evident that they could not employ in trade, what was already advanced to Government. It was in reality but a standard by which the quantity of stock, standing in each proprietor's name in the Company's books, had, on the union of the Companies, been regulated. For a time, indeed, it was held out as a security to those persons who advanced money to be employed in trade, on the credit of the Company's bonds. Thus, when they lent 2,000,000*l.* to Government, they were empowered to raise 2,000,000*l.* on bonds, and when they lent 1,200,000*l.* they were authorized to raise

D 2

1,500,000*l.*

Ware-  
houses,  
&c.

The value of the East India House and warehouses, and of ships and vessels, is also included, (although they are articles of dead stock) as they are necessary for conducting the trade, and if they were not, might be disposed of for a considerable sum in this country.

The

1,500,000*l.* or 300,000*l.* more than the sum so deposited. In 1744, the Company lent 1,000,000*l.* more, (making 4,200,000*l.* the sum at present stated), and were empowered to issue more bonds to that amount, but no addition was made on that account to the capital stock; and consequently from this period, the sum due from Government to the Company, and the extent of the capital stock, were not only different in their nature, but also in their amount. But in 1750, every semblance of connexion between this sum and the capital stock was annihilated, as in consequence of the Act which then passed, it was no longer security for the money raised by bonds, to be employed in trade. For by that Act, the Company were empowered to transfer, in effect, their right and property in the interest on the 4,200,000*l.* to annuitants; and 2,992,440*l.* of the principal was accordingly so disposed of, and from being a debt due to the Company, became a debt, or rather an annuity owing by the public to the purchasers in that fund, with which the Company had no further concern, than as being the medium through which the annuitants received their interest. The only security therefore which remained (besides the general credit of the Company's corporate state,) for the bond debts, afterwards, was the remaining 1,207,560*l.* which the Company are empowered to sell, but have not yet disposed of.

The remaining assets in the home accounts, are of a commercial nature, consisting of cash in the treasury, goods sold not paid for, those in the warehouses for sale, and goods and bullion provided for exportation, &c. as are particularly stated in the Appendix No. 2.

Commer-  
cial As-  
sets.

In stating the articles which form the debit side of these statements, it has been usual to charge the Company with the amount of the nominal capital stock, on which the dividends to the Proprietors are annually made. But, as that sum only denotes the total of the shares which the different individuals, composing the East-India Company, have in the general concerns of that Body, it cannot, in correctness, be considered as a debt owing by them, since it is not payable at any particular period, nor have the Proprietors any other claim for the sums which they have advanced for their shares, than an equitable proportion of the profits divided during the continuance of their trade, and in the event of their ceasing to be a corporate body, the  
value

Debts at  
home.

Capital  
stock.

value of each respective share, must depend altogether on the balance which shall finally remain, after the disposal of their property, and the payment of their several debts.

In 1707, when the union of the two Companies trading to the East-Indies was compleated, the capital stock on which the profits of their trade were to be divided, according to the respective amount of each proprietor's share, was 3,200,000*l*. And it continued at this nominal amount till 1786, when, in consequence of the extension of the Company's trade (which followed the passing of the Commutation Act), together with the general situation of their affairs, it was increased by 800,000*l*. and in 1789, by 1,000,000*l*. more, making in the whole the present capital stock of 5,000,000*l*. on which the dividends of the profits arising from the trade and revenues in the Company's possession are now made\*.

Although

\* The sums raised for the use of the Company on the whole of their capital stock, are stated to have been as follows:

The

Although, for the reasons before stated, the additional amount thus invested in stock, cannot strictly be considered as a debt due by the Company; yet, as the sums raised by this encrease of capital, have been applied to the payment of debts, or to the purchase of articles of commerce, by which the Company's situation has been improved to an equal amount, in order therefore to shew what variations have been made in the state of their affairs, by the profits derived from their trade and revenues, during the period to which the following statements refer, the whole

The dead stock of the Company, as has been before stated, was valued at the time of their becoming a united body, - - - - £. 400,000

To this the Proprietors subscribed, at different times, - - - - 2,400,000

Total subscribed to the original capital of 3,200,000 £. which is  $87\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on each respective share, - 2,800,000

New capital subscribed in 1786, 800,000 £. at 155 per cent. - 1,240,000

New additional capital subscribed in 1789, 1,000,000, at 174 per cent. 1,740,000

Total £. 5,780,000



whole amount, so raised, has been considered as if it had been money borrowed for these purposes.

Debt to  
Annuity-  
tants.

The amount stated as owing by the Company to the Annuity-tants, has already been explained; this, in fact, can only be considered as the nominal principal of an annuity payable by Government, through the medium of the Company, but which, in making up their accounts, is included as an article both of credit and debit.

✓ Bond  
debt.

^ The amount due for bonds, is raised on the credit of the Company's trade and commercial property, together with the interest they possess in the territorial revenues of India. Whilst the Company were merely a society of merchants, (until the year 1750,) the amount due from Government, was made, as far as it extended, a security for the bond and other debts contracted by the Company; but since that period, the greatest part of the sum, so lent, as has been already observed, having been

been disposed of to Annuitants, who have an exclusive claim for the payment of their annuities, this kind of security no longer exists. But in case of the Company ceasing to be a corporate body, the bond, and other creditors, must be paid their demands, prior to any division of the property being made among the Proprietors of the 5,000,000*l.* of capital stock\*.

The

\* In consequence of the sums lent to Government, or rather to raise or replace the amount so advanced, the Company were empowered to issue bonds to the amount of 4,500,000*l.* or 300,000*l.* more than the sums so lent, and in 1749, the amount outstanding, was 4,245,723*l.* from which sum it was reduced by the annuities disposed of according to the Act of the following year. From that period, the amount varied from 2 to nearly 3 millions, till an Act was passed in 1773, for restricting the amount; and during the late war, it was reduced to 1,500,000*l.* but since the conclusion of that war, the Company have been authorized to issue bonds to the amount of 1,700,000*l.* (500,000*l.* in 1783, and 1,200,000*l.* in 1788,) in addition to the 1,500,000*l.*

The total of the sums, therefore, raised by new stock, subscribed, bonds issued, and the loan on Exchequer bills, has been as follows: By new stock 2,980,000*l.* bonds 1,700,000*l.* Exchequer bills 300,000*l.* Total 4,980,000*l.* Since the extension of the capital stock in 1786, the assets at home, and afloat, have been increased, from 10,335,776*l.* to 13,607,575*l.* which is

E

3,271,799*l.*

Loan on  
Exche-  
quer bills.

The sum of 300,000*l.* stated as a loan from the Bank, was borrowed in 1783, for which Exchequer bills are deposited. The other debts owing by the Company (except the amount transferred from India) have arisen in the ordinary course of their commercial transactions, the nature of which is sufficiently shewn, from the particulars stated in the accounts.

Debt  
transferred from  
India.

The remaining article included amongst the debts owing by the Company on the 1st March 1791, is the amount of the debts from India, which had been remitted home, in consequence of the terms offered to the Creditors in India for that purpose, and not paid at that date.

In the year 1785, the Company's outstanding paper at Bengal bore 18, at Madras 40, and at Bombay 50 per cent.

3,271,799*l.* more employed in trade in 1791, than in 1786. The Company's sales, which in 1784, were supposed over rated at 3,300,000*l.* have amounted on the average of the last 6 years 1785 to 1791, to 4,658,931*l.* per annum, and in the last of those years, the quantity sold amounted to 5,091,255*l.*

cent. discount.\* It was, therefore, of no small importance, to adopt some measure to revive this drooping credit, and which, at the same time, should be subservient to the permanent interests of the Company. For this purpose, a plan was formed by the Government at home, for transferring, to a certain extent, the debts owing in India, to this country, and orders were accordingly transmitted in September 1785, to the Government of Bengal, to receive subscriptions of the debts owing there, and to grant bills on the Court of Directors, at the rate of one shilling and eight pence per current rupee, for the amount so subscribed; and the other presidencies were in like manner directed to receive subscriptions, in their currency, proportionate to the same rate of exchange,

These terms, so long as the Company's paper bore the discount above-mentioned, were equally advantageous to the holders of that paper and to the Company. For although

E 2 the

\* Orders on the Treasury at Bombay were from 65 to 70 per. cent per discount. ✓

the rate of exchange was less than that at which bills were drawn on the Court of Directors at that time, for money paid into the treasuries in India ; yet, taking the amount of discount which was allowed in obtaining money for paper into the account, the difference was inconsiderable. At the same time it opened a channel for the remittance of the private fortunes of individuals, which, for want of some such mode, were before transmitted home on the security of foreign merchants. The advantage derived to the Company, was the amount of interest saved, from the time of subscription, to the period of the bills becoming payable, and in case of their not being paid ; the rate of interest was 5 per cent. at home, instead of 8 at Bengal and Madras, and  $9\frac{1}{8}$  per cent. at Bombay, which the debts bore in India.

The subscriptions to the terms thus offered to the Creditors in India, amounted to about a million and a half sterling ; but the greater degree of confidence in the affairs of the East-India Company, which this, and

and other measures, had raised in India, soon reduced the discount of their paper; and, consequently, the advantages to the subscribers became proportionably less, and the terms were no longer accepted. In order, therefore, to secure to the Company the benefits promised, by transferring their India debts home, it was necessary to offer new terms to the Creditors, which should hold out to them, similar advantages, in the then improved situation of affairs, to those of the original plan: and in July 1787, directions for this purpose were transmitted to the Governor-General in Council, of Bengal, and the rate of exchange for bills on the Court was raised, in consequence, to one shilling and eleven-pence the current rupee at Bengal, and, in like proportion, for the currency of the other settlements; since which, the amount of subscriptions has been increased to upwards of three millions sterling.

The rate of exchange by which the sums in the different denominations

Rate of exchange, and valuation of the currency of India.



tions of money in India have been converted into pounds sterling, in the following sheets, is that at which bills and certificates\* have been granted on the Court of Directors, for money paid into the treasuries, or for other purposes of equal importance.

The general denomination of money in which the accounts are kept in Bengal, is the current rupee; (an imaginary coin similar to the pound sterling in this country,) and the different coins in that province, bear a fixed proportion to it. At Madras, the star pagoda, is the current denomination; at Bombay, the rupee, (called, for distinction, the Bombay rupee); and at Bencoolen, the Spanish dollar.

During the last four years, the rates of exchange, at which bills have been drawn on the Court of Directors

\* The bills granted to Officers of ships, &c. for paying the produce of the goods which they carry out on their own account, into the Company's treasury, are called *Certificates*, as they are to certify that such sums have been so paid, and are made payable at home, at short dates.

Directors from India, have been—  
 from Bengal, 2s. 1d. and 2s. the  
 current rupee—from Madras, at 8s.  
 7s. 9d. and 7s. 6d. the star pagoda,  
 —from Bombay, at 2s. 3d. the Bom-  
 bay rupee—and from Bencoolen, at  
 5s. the dollar. ✓

In order, however, to avoid that  
 ambiguity which must have taken  
 place, if in the following state-  
 ments, the value of the sums ex-  
 pressed in the currency of India, had  
 been computed in pounds sterling,  
 according to the varying rates of ex-  
 change in each year, the current  
 rupee of Bengal, is uniformly valued  
 at 2s. and the star pagoda of Ma-  
 dras, at 8s.

With respect to Bombay, the  
 rate of exchange between that settle-  
 ment and Bengal, is generally com-  
 puted at 116 current rupees for 100  
 Bombay rupees ; this, at 2s. the cur-  
 rent rupee, would make the Bom-  
 bay rupee 2s. 3d.  $\frac{84}{100}$ , which is  $\frac{84}{100}$   
 of a penny, more than the rate at  
 which bills were drawn on the Court  
 of Directors: but as the principal  
 part

part of the expenses of that settlement are defrayed from Bengal, it appeared most proper to adopt this valuation. At Bencoolen, the excess of expenses are stated according to the exchange of 5s. per dollar.

In comparing the currency of one settlement in India, with that of another, a fixed rate has also been adopted: this principally relates to the rate at which the currency of the other settlements has been reduced to that of Bengal; in order to express, in one sum, the total of the debts owing, and the value of the assets, &c. in India. By this means, the accounts are kept uniform, although it must be obvious, that, according as the trade from one settlement to the other has fluctuated, and as remittances could be made with ease or difficulty, the rates of exchange between them must have varied, and therefore, any fixed rate cannot be always correct.

In the accounts from Bengal, the star pagoda of Madras, is valued at  $4\frac{1}{4}$  current rupees; and the Bombay  
rupee

rupee at 16 per cent. better than the current, and whatever variation occurs from these rates, is stated as profit or loss. These rates are therefore taken, wherever it has been necessary, in the following statements, to give the amount of pagodas and Bombay rupees, in current rupees.

In the accounts from Bengal, which state the total balance of the quick-stocks of the three Presidencies, the pagodas of Madras, and the rupees of Bombay, are converted into current rupees at the above rates; when, therefore, these sums are computed in pounds sterling, at 2s. the current rupee, the pagoda, and Bombay rupee, by these two conversions, become valued at a higher rate, than that at which bills are drawn on the Court of Directors from those presidencies. But as this valuation is adopted in the accounts of the debts owing in India, which have been presented to Parliament, it seemed most proper not to alter the sums so stated, although it is evident, from the above observa-

F                      tions,

tions, that the debts and affets of the Company, at those settlements, are over-rated ; but as this only affects the proportion which the balance of the debts and affets, bear to the general state of the Company's affairs, the difference is not very considerable.

## SECTION I.

Comparison of the State of  
the East-India Company's  
Finances, at the Conclusion  
of the late War, and in  
1790-1.

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THE long and expensive war, in which the British provinces in India were engaged, terminated in the month of March 1784, by the ratification of peace with the Mysorean government. The distresses to which the East India Company were reduced, both at home and abroad, in consequence of this war, and that in Europe, had for some time antecedent to that period, formed a prominent feature in the discussions of Parliament.

State of  
the Com-  
pany's  
credit at  
the con-  
clusion of  
the late  
war.

In December 1783, February and May 1784, the Directors laid before the House of Commons, such accounts as they then possessed respec-



ting the general state of their finances. But the impossibility of drawing any satisfactory information from statements, made up under the general derangement of their affairs which then prevailed, together with the apprehensions which the measures, then in agitation, relative to the future government of India had excited in the public mind, reduced the credit of the Company to the lowest ebb. Their capital stock, paying a dividend of 8 per cent. interest, sold for 120 per cent. ; their bonds at home, bearing then 5 per cent. interest, were negotiated from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 per cent. discount\*; their bonds and certificates at Bengal and Madras, bore from 18 to 40 per cent. discount ; at Bombay 50 per cent. and orders on the Treasury there sold at 65, and upwards, per cent. discount.

From this depression of credit, which, in itself, added accumulated weight

\* In 1783 the Company were empowered to encrease their bond debt from 1,500,000*l.* to 2,000,000*l.* ; but at that period the additional number of bonds was too large for the market, and at the end of the following year, they had only 1,500,000*l.* outstanding.

weight to every burthen on the Company, the various measures, which, under the present administration of the Company's affairs, were adopted, soon effectually relieved them, so that in little more than four years, their capital stock was raised to 174 per cent. (and in 1791 it was sold at 194 per cent.) ; their bonds, then reduced to 4½ per cent. per annum, were negotiated at 5½ 17s. premium \*; their paper at Bengal, in 1789 bore a premium, and the certificates there, when the present war broke out, were beginning to be negotiated at 6 per cent. which is, in fact, but half the usual interest in that country.

State of  
ditto in  
1789-90.

I shall next proceed to state what actual improvements have been made in their finances, and by what means they have been produced.

The report which the Court of Directors had laid before the House of Commons

\* In 1790, their bonds outstanding, amounted to upwards of 3,000,000*l.* and in March 1791, 3,200,000*l.*

Commons in February 1784, on the state of their affairs, was immediately dispatched to the governments in India, with orders, that such reductions should be made in the then existing expenses, and such arrangements made as should realize the expectations held out to the public, in that report.

These directions, however, produced no effect in the year 1784-5, except, perhaps, towards the formation of a plan for a reduction of expense, which was not put in force till the following year.

In the next year, 1785-6, under the government of Sir John Macpherson, considerable reductions were made in the expenses in India, but as these reductions were a work of time, their full effect could not be produced till the following year.

But from the want of a correct adjusted account of the amount of debts, at the beginning and close of the year 1785-6, it does not seem possible

possible to ascertain the precise amount of charges belonging to that year; and consequently whether any debts were incurred or paid off, or to what amount, cannot be determined.

For the reasons above stated, it is evident, that the expences of India in the years 1784-5, and 1785-6, cannot be considered as incurred by a peace establishment; or as by any means being conducted according to the arrangements sent out from home since the conclusion of the war in India. Besides this, the military arrears of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, amounting to near a million and a half sterling, were adjusted to no earlier a period than the 31st December 1785; and, indeed, at Bombay, an arrear of upwards of 40 lacs, or 464,000*l.* belonging to the year 1783-4, was first brought forward among the military charges in 1786-7. From these several circumstances it follows, that although the object of this statement

is

is to compare the situation of the Company's affairs at the conclusion of the late war, with what it was in 1790-91, yet as the whole extent of the burthens occasioned by that war, was not ascertained, with any degree of accuracy, until the end of the year 1785, and as the annual accounts of receipts and expenditure for the years 1784-5, and 1785-6, do not distinguish what part of the charges defrayed, was on account of the current year, or whether any debts were paid off in those years; it is not possible to carry back any comparison of the debts owing in India, to an earlier period than the commencement of the year 1786 in India. But, as the war establishment was kept up during the year 1784, and a part of the year 1785, the actual expenses of the war cannot be considered as terminated till 1785, and as the reductions then made could operate but partially, it seems probable, that but little variation could be made in the state of the Company's affairs abroad during this year, and therefore the statements made up to the beginning of

Establish-  
ments re-  
duced in  
1785.

of the following year, may contain nearly the same amount of debts, as if the accounts had been adjusted to the period when the reductions in the several establishments began to be effected \*.

For these several reasons, the first object of this statement is to compare the amount of the debts, and the value of the assets in India, at the beginning of the years 1786 and 1790. The period to which the annual accounts are made up in India, is from the 30th April to 30th April; and accordingly in Appendix, No. 1. the amount of debts owing by the Company, and the value of assets, as entered on the Quick-Stock accounts, on 30th April 1786, is contrasted with the amount of the similar articles on 30th April 1790. The debts

End of  
the year  
1785, the  
earliest  
period to  
which  
these ac-  
counts  
are made.

\* It appears by the accounts laid before Parliament, that the revenues of India, in 1784, amounted to 6,465,794*l.* and the charges defrayed, exclusive of interest on the debts, to 6,122,230*l.* In 1785 the revenues collected amounted to 6,095,827*l.* and the charges defrayed to 5,785,316*l.*; so that in each of those years, the surplus of receipts, above the charges paid, must have been less than the interest on the debts.



debts and affets at China, also, for those periods, are added, in order to make the comparative view of the Company's affairs abroad complete.

Decrease  
of debts  
abroad  
since 1785  
£.  
3,213,612

The result of the first part of this statement (Appendix, No. 1.) is, that the debts owing by the Company in India have been reduced 2,70,44,676 C. Rs. or 2,704,468*l*. and those in China 509,144*l*. being in the whole a reduction of 3,213,612*l*. in these four years. This, as far as respects India, has been made by the transfer of the debts from thence home, as already explained, and the debt owing in China, was principally paid by the bills drawn on the Court of Directors in 1787 \*.

Encrease  
of affets  
abroad  
£.  
575,550.

The other part of this comparative statement, No. 1, contains the value of the affets in India and China, as

\* The amount of debt transferred from India to England, from 30th April 1786 to 30th April 1790, was 2,682,505*l*. of which 493,169*l*. was paid in 1790, and 1,000,000*l*. more will have been paid by March 1792. The bills drawn to discharge the debt in China, were, of course, paid as they became due:

as they stood on the 31st of April 1786 and 1790. The balance of cash and bills receivable, were more in 1790 than 1786; in India, current rupees 52,36,650; and in China, current rupees 20,252; total current rupees 52,56,902, or 525,690*l.*; which being money actually in the several treasuries, or bills receivable, requires no observation. The value of import and export goods, stores, salt, and opium, is, on the whole, but little different, the encrease being only current rupees 2,44,748, or 24,475*l.* after deducting the prime cost of the cargo received by the Houghton, which was furnished from the goods on hand, and shipped from Bengal after the 30th April 1790. The debts owing to the Company in China, are more by 25,385*l.* and in India, by current rupees, 23,40,606, or 234,060*l.* But by referring to the amount of debts since struck off the Quick-Stocks, as irrecoverable, which were included in the accounts of 1786, it appears, that the actual encrease of debts owing to the Company in India, on the 30th of April

1790, was current rupees 47,33,036,  
or 473,303  $\frac{1}{2}$ .\*

As it appears, however, from the estimates, &c. for 1790-91, that some articles, both on the debit and credit side of the account, had not been finally adjusted on the 30th of April 1790, at all the presidencies †, and as it is intended in this statement,

\* This appears from the following statement:

The debt from Raganath Row to the Bombay Government (see No 1, ordered to be printed 15th of March 1790, paragraph 12) struck off the the Quick-Stocks since 30th of April 1786, as irrecoverable, current rupees,	44,32,000
Loan from Bengal to the Berar Government, - - - -	11,60,000

Struck off current rupees,	55,92,000
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A debt has however been brought forward on the Quick-Stocks at Madras, since that period, which was equally due before April 1786; this therefore must be deducted, pags. 7,52,842, or current rupees, -

31,99,570
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Debts struck off, more than encreased, - - -	23,92,430
Debts encreased as above, -	23,40,606

Current rupees,	47,33,036
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† The estimates, and actual accounts of receipt and expenditure, and accounts of Quick-Stock,

statement, to avoid every disputable point on the favourable side of the accounts, no credit is taken for the encrease of debts owing to the Company in India, in this general comparison of their affairs abroad and at home; but only the greater amount of cash in the treasury, &c. is stated as the encrease in their effective property. Omitting, therefore, the above sum of debts owing to them; the cash in the treasuries, &c. in India and China, including a small debt

Stock, being made up to the same day at the close of the year, at each of the presidencies in India, it thence happens, from their distance from each other, that bills may be drawn by the other settlements on Bengal, which have not been received at the close of the annual accounts there; and on the other hand, supplies in bills and other articles, may be remitted from Bengal, which cannot be received at the other settlements before the close of their annual accounts. The sums so drawn and remitted, would be equally a debit and credit at the period of closing the accounts; and, it appears, from comparing the different statements, that nearly an equal supply had been sent on the whole from Bengal to Madras, Bombay, and China, which had not been received there, with the amount of bills, &c. drawn from thence on Bengal, of which they had not received advice, at the date of their Quick-Stock of 30th of April 1790. In No. 25 of the accounts laid before Parliament in 1791, the balance against Bengal is computed at C. Rs. 3,63,366, or 36,336l.

Affairs  
better on  
the whole  
abroad  
in 1790,  
than at  
the end  
of 1785.

✓  
£.  
3,789,162

debt in China, amount to 575,550<sup>l</sup>.<sup>\*</sup> more in 1790 than in 1786, which, added to the debt paid off, or transferred home from India and China, as before stated, being 3,213,612<sup>l</sup>. the result is, that the Company's affairs were better abroad in 1790, than they were in 1786, by 3,789,162<sup>l</sup>.

## A T H O M E.

The length of time which is requisite to close and arrange the annual accounts of the several provinces in India, and to transmit them to Great Britain, occasions those statements to be always one year anterior to the period of the Home Accounts, and, for the same reasons, whatever measures are adopted in India, for the improvement of their affairs, or to encrease the sums applied to the purchase of goods for Europe, the effects of them cannot be felt at home until the following year.

* Cash more,	-	-	£. 525,690
Debts in China more,	-	-	25,385
Goods and stores abroad, on the			
whole, more,	-	-	24,475
			<hr/>
			£. 575,550

year. In order therefore, to state the situation of the Company's finances at home, for the years corresponding to those for which the accounts respecting India and China have been given, the comparative statement, in Appendix, No. 2, is made for the commencement of the years 1787 and 1791\*. There are, however,

\* The year 1785, not being included in the comparative statement respecting India, the corresponding year 1786 must be omitted in the Home statements, as it might be otherwise objected, that the Company's affairs were improved at Home in that year from the resources of India, for which no credit was given. It appears, however, that considerable improvement was made in the Company's situation in the year 1786, the whole of which is omitted, by carrying the statement back only to the beginning of 1787.

On the 31st January 1786, the debts, exclusive of the Capital of 3,200,000*l.* amounted to - £. 11,882,625

On 31st January 1787, exclusive of the Capital Stock, then increased to 4,000,000*l.* - - - 11,443,349

Debts less in those articles, £. 439,276

Value of Assets on 31st January 1786, £. 10,335,776

Value of Assets on 31st January 1787, 11,824,901

Assets increased, 1,489,125

Total £. 1,928,401

Deduct the amount raised by selling 800,000*l.* New Stock, at 155 per cent. - - - 1,240,000

Better in 1787 than in 1786, £. 688,401



however, circumstances which relate to the trade alone, that corroborate the propriety of carrying the account no farther back than 1787; for, with respect to the two preceding years, 1785 and 1786, a great part of the goods in warehouse, at the beginning of the year 1785, which would compose part of the sales of that year, must have been purchased in 1783-4, and consequently, as far as respects India, from its being in a state of warfare, on disadvantageous terms; and, also, they must have been brought home at the heavy expence of war freights, which would absorb the greater part of the profits on the trade. This objection only applies in part to the year 1786, as the freight was in 1784 reduced from 47*l.* 4*s.* per ton (the war price in 1782) to 30*l.* and 28*l.*; but it was not till the year 1786, that the freight began to be reduced so low as 23*l.* 10*s.* or 22*l.* per ton, and the trade to be conducted entirely on the terms established in time of peace. These circumstances are sufficient to evince the propriety

propriety of beginning the comparative statement of the Company's affairs at home at the commencement of the year 1787.

The account, therefore, in Appendix No. 2, contains the amount of the Company's debts, and the valuation of their assets at home, as they stood on the 31st of January 1787, and the 1st of March 1791. From this, it appears, that by encreasing the amount of their bond debt 1,200,000*l.* and adding a million to their Capital Stock, subscribed at 174 per cent. and by contracting some debts, in other articles, to the amount of 396,958*l.* they have paid off bills of exchange, the debt to Government of 100,000*l.* and other debts to the amount, in the whole, of 4,061,871*l.*

Debts discharged  
at home.

£.

1,414,596



Besides these sums, it appears, from the account, No. 4, that the Company have paid to Government 500,000*l.* for the expenses of his Majesty's troops, &c. serving in India; and the amount advanced by

H

the

the King's Paymaster-General during the same period, to be charged to the Company's account, was 290,486*l.* the difference therefore 209,514*l.* is to be charged to expenses incurred previous to the year 1787, although, from the accounts not being adjusted, it was not inserted as a debt at that time.

During the same period, also, the Company paid off 493,169*l.* of the principal of the debt transferred from India as per No. 4, and had discharged the whole of the interest incurred on that debt, except 13,000*l.* which was owing on the 1st March 1791. On the whole, therefore, the debts paid at home, after allowing for all money raised by New Stock, and bonds, &c. as money borrowed, has amounted to 1,414,596*l.*

India debt  
transferred home

£.

2,682,505

Debts at  
home increased,  
including  
the transferred  
debt, by

£.

1,267,909

But, during the corresponding period in India a debt was transferred from thence home to the amount, as per No. 7, of 2,682,505*l.* which being included as a debt at home, occasions an apparent increase of these debts, since 1787 to the amount of 1,267,909*l.*

# The general result of the Statements respecting the Company's Debts is,

That they have paid off bills of exchange, and  
some other articles of debt, to the amount  
of - - - £. 4,061,871

And of the debt incurred previous to  
1787 for his Majesty's troops ser-  
ving in India - - - 209,514

Debts discharged exclusive of the In-  
dia debt - - - 4,271,385

And of the debt transferred from In-  
dia, there has been paid within this  
period - - - 492,169

£. 4,763,554

To pay these sums, there has been  
raised by bonds £. 1,200,000

By a million of New Stock,  
sold at 174 per cent. 1,740,000

Debts increased in the ar-  
ticles of customs on goods  
unfold, and exports not  
paid for, &c. - 396,958

Interest incurred on the In-  
dia debt at home, more  
than paid - - - 13,000

Debts increased, and money consider-  
ed as borrowed at home - 3,319,958

Paid off £. 1,414,596

Amount of debt transferred from India 2,682,505

Debts increased at home, including the  
debt transferred from India - 1,267,909

The debts discharged abroad, by the  
transfer from India, and those paid  
in China by bills on the Court, and  
supplies from India, amount, as be-  
fore stated, to - - - 3,213,612

Decrease of debts £. 1,945,703

Decrease  
of debts  
at home  
and  
abroad.

£.  
1,945,703

The actual diminution of the Company's debts, therefore, from 1786-7 to 1790-91, at home and abroad, after charging them with all bonds issued, or loans borrowed, and the total raised on the extension of their Capital Stock, is 1,945,703/.

In the other part of the Account, No. 2, is stated the amount of the cash in the Company's Treasury at home; goods sold not paid for; those in the warehouses unfold; and the goods and stores for exportation, and afloat; and other assets, as they stood on the 31st of January 1787, and on the 1st of March 1791, together with the increase or decrease in the value of each respective article.

Assets at  
home in-  
creased  
£.

1,723,083

On the whole of this comparative statement, the result is, that in the articles of cash, goods unfold, export goods, afloat and paid for, &c. the value in 1791, is more than it was in 1787, by 2,594,882/ and the amount of New Stock unfold, goods sold, not paid for, silver for exportation, &c. is less by 812,208/ making

making an actual encrease in the value of assets at home of 1,782,674. But as it appears from the account, No. 9, that the goods exported in the preceding season, were 59,591 *l*. \* more than are taken credit for in the account for 31st January 1787, this sum is deducted from the encreased value of assets, and reduces the above sum to 1,723,083.

The amount of the cash, &c. in India and China, as already stated, was

Assets at home and abroad, more

£.  
2,298,633

\* The season of exporting goods from home for India and China, commences in October; and as the ships are seldom dispatched till December or January following, or later, they cannot arrive in India and China so as to form any part of the assets in their Quick-Stock accounts made up in April; these goods are therefore inserted among the home accounts, as property afloat outward. The amount of goods and bullion exported at the close of 1785, or beginning of 1786, was 1,253,482 *l*. which, as it could not have been received in India or China, at the date of their accounts, should be inserted as a floating asset on 31st January 1787; but, from some accident of loss, or damage, &c. the sum stated in that account is 1,193,891 *l*. or 59,591 *l*. less. This sum is, therefore, deducted from the balance appearing in favour of the Company on the 1st March 1791, in order to include every loss sustained during the period of the accounts here referred to.



✓ was encreased 575,550*l.* which, added to the above, gives 2,298,633*l.* the sum by which the different articles of assets at home and abroad, exceeded their amount in 1786-7.

Compa-  
ny's af-  
fairs bet-  
ter in  
1790-91  
than in  
1786-7.  
Assets  
more and  
debts less,  
£.  
4,244,336

The amount of debts owing by the Company at home and abroad in 1790-91, was less than in 1786-7, as before stated, by 1,945,703*l.* and consequently, on the whole, the state of the Company's affairs, by debts paid off, and cash and bills in the treasuries, &c. encreased, was better in 1790-91, by 4,244,336*l.* than it was in 1786-7. By this sum, the finances of the Company have been actually improved in this period, exclusive of any allowance being made for the greater amount of debts owing to them in India in 1790, than there was in 1786.

In one view, taking the India and home accounts separate, the general result of these accounts is, that, after allowing for the amount of debt transferred from India, the Company's affairs are better at home by  
455,174*l.*

455,174*l.* and abroad by 3,789,162*l.*  
according to the following statement.

Debts discharged at home, as before  
stated, in page 51 - - - *£*.4,271,385

Money raised on bonds and stock,  
and some articles of debts encreased,  
including 13,000*l.* of interest  
on the India debt, incurred at  
home, not paid - - - 3,349,958

Balance of home debts paid off, - *£*. 921,427

Paid off the principal of the India  
debt - - - 493,169

Applied at home, in the payment of  
debts more than borrowed *£*. 1,414,596

Add,

Goods in warehouse, unfold, and  
afloat, &c. &c. on the comparifon  
of the whole of the affets more,  
page 53 - - - 1,723,083

Total of debts paid, and affets en-  
creased at home in four years *£*. 3,137,679

But as the Company's debts at home  
have been encreased by the amount  
transferred from India, that sum  
is to be deducted - - - 2,682,505

Better at  
home, ex-  
clusive of  
India  
debt, by  
*£*.  
3,137,679

Better at home on the whole *£*.455,174

Abroad.

Decrease of debts in In-  
dia and China *£*. 3,213,612

Cash and bills, &c. in  
the treasuries more 575,550

Better in India and China 3,789,162

Total improvement in the Compa-  
ny's affairs - - - *£*.4,244,336

## SECTION II.

Amount realized by the Company at home in this period, from the Revenues of India, and Profits from their Trade.

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Amount realized home in 4 years, from receipts, after defraying charges,  
£.  
3,102,688

IN order to prove the accuracy of the foregoing result, as far as respects the home accounts, in the following statement, the Company are considered in a mere mercantile point of view, and all charges, for whatever purpose, incurred at home, are considered as the means applied here, by which the goods from the East-Indies and China, have been procured, which have enabled the Company to keep up their sales from 1787 to 1791, and to leave goods in warehouse in the latter, more than there were in the former of those years.

From

From the Account, No. 8, it appears, that the sum for which goods were sold, from March 1787 to March 1791, amounted to	£. 18,639,675
That the charges and profit on private trade received was, per No. 4,	308,985
And the interest on the loan of 4,200,000 <i>l.</i> to * Government	<u>504,000</u>
Total of receipts, £.	19,452,660
	† Charges

\* The other receipts, in these four years, are for the Alms houses at Poplar ; money raised by the extension of the capital, by issuing bonds, or borrowed of the Bank ; for duties of teas paid by the buyers, and for goods sold in private trade. But, in this view of the subject, the sums so received make no difference in the general state of the Company's affairs, for the whole amount is here supposed to be repaid, or to be charged as a debt against the Company.

† These several charges are taken from the Accounts, No. 3, and 4, as follows :

The amount paid for customs by No. 4, is 2,551,390*l.* towards which 554,202*l.* was received by the Company for customs on private trade goods ; the net amount, therefore, paid by the Company was 1,997,188*l.* to which, adding the excess of debt owing for customs in March 1791 more than there was in March 1787, per No. 3, 104,408*l.* the total gives the above sum incurred in these four years. In like manner, the amount paid for freight, deducting what paid by private traders, is 3,380,015*l.* and 11,100*l.* less was owing in 1791 than 1787, this sum is therefore, deducted. The charges of merchandise paid amount to 1,453,558*l.* ; and the sums due in the department of shipping are, by No. 3, 25,898*l.* more ; and those due for warrants passed the Court, and supercargo's commission, 13,373*l.* less in 1791 than 1787, the difference, therefore,

↓ 12,525*l.*

Brought forward,	£. 19,452,660
Charges incurred in this period.	
Customs, deducting those paid by private trade,	£. 2,101,596
Freight, ditto, ditto	3,368,915
Charges of merchandise, including interest of loans, &c.	- 1,466,083
Tea purchased on the continent	- 73,308
Bills drawn from India, China, and St. Helena, including interest, by No. 7.	- 2,994,242
Goods and stores exported to India, China, and St. Helena, by No. 9.	£. 2,620,370
Bullion, ditto	2,610,135
Amount issued by the King's Paymaster-General for the pay of the troops serving in India, by No. 4.	- 290,486
Carried forward,	£. 15,525,135
	19,452,660

12,525*l.* is added to the charges paid. The amount paid for teas imported from the continent is 179,58*l.* of which, by No. 3, 106,200*l.* was owing on 1st March 1777, the difference is therefore the sum incurred. The dividends on stock, interest on annuities and bonds paid, amounted to 2,147,763*l.* and there was more owing under these heads in 1791 than in 1787, per No. 3, 18,811*l.* the sum, therefore, 2,166,574*l.* is the amount incurred.

The other payments made by the Company, besides the articles above stated, being to discharge debts, repay money borrowed, or to pay the sums received for goods sold in the private trade, or for duties on tea, &c. do not form any part of the charges incurred on their account in this period.

Brought forward, £.15,525,135	19,452,660
Interest incurred at home on account of debt transferred from India, by No. 7. - - -	203,658
Total charges, incurred at home, exclusive of divi- dends, &c. - - -	15,728,793
Deduct, - - -	3,723,867
Dividends on stock, interest on an- nuities, and on bonds - -	2,166,574
Applicable surplus at home - -	1,557,293
Goods in warehouse, unfold 1st March 1787 * - - -	£. 2,797,636
Ditto, ditto, 1st March 1791	4,343,031
Goods unfold, more in 1791 than 1787 - - -	1,545,395
Amount realized in cash and goods from India and China, above all charges incurred, from 1787 to 1791 - - -	3,102,688
By the comparison of the debts and assets in these years, it appeared that the debts paid off, and assets increased, amounted to - -	£. 3,137,679

I 2

The

\* Sec No. 38, of the Accounts for 1791. The goods in warehouse unfold, on the 31st of January 1787, amounted to 2,777,494*l.* or 20,142*l.* less than this sum; the increase appears to have been occasioned by the value of teas imported from the continent in February 1787, and this in some degree explains the reason of the difference between this account, and that made up to the 31st of January 1787.



The difference of these two results is a sum of 34,991 $\frac{1}{2}$  which is accounted for, by the circumstance of the comparative statement being made from the 31st of January 1787, so that the larger amount appears on the statement which comprehends a period of one month longer than the other; and the reason of there being this difference of a month is, that the valuation of the Company's assets, and statement of the amount of their debts, called *Stock per Computation*, was made in 1787, up to the 31st of January, and in 1791, up to the 1st of March \*.

\* The 31st of January was the usual period to which this account was made up, and, as far as respected the value of assets and amount of debts, was as proper as any other; for it could seldom happen that any cargoes, shipped after the close of the annual statements (30th April) in India, would, on account of the season of the year, arrive in England before that date. But as the accounts of receipts and payments at home are always kept from the 1st of March to the 1st of March, this difference of a month necessarily created some confusion, when the accounts of different years were compared, and the reasons of the variations that appeared on them examined into, from the sums received and paid: To obviate this in future, the time of making up the statement, has been changed, from the 31st of January to the 1st of March in each year.

## SECTION III.

Amount received from the  
Revenues of India, in the  
years 1786-7, 1787-8,  
1788-9, and 1789-90.

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HAVING thus stated the result of the comparative situation of the Company's affairs in 1786-7 and 1790-91, from the general accounts of their debts and assets in those years, and also the amount realized at home, from the statements of the receipts and total charges incurred in the same period; it next remains to examine the annual accounts at home and abroad, of revenues and charges, and the profits on the trade in each year, in order to shew the resources by which the finances of the Company have been improved to the amount before stated.

And first, with respect to India. Revenues  
of India.  
It has been before observed, that at  
the

the conclusion of the war in India in 1784, the affairs of the Company there were universally deranged, and the accounts of several years left in an unadjusted and complicated state. This, with other circumstances, which it is unnecessary to detail in this place, have rendered the accounts from India complex, and unsatisfactory, in some respects. So long as new claims and unforeseen arrears were brought forward, investigated and adjusted, no correct statement of the debts owing could be made up ; at the same time, their gradual liquidation formed an accumulated burthen on the annual disbursements, and being blended with the current expenses defrayed, increased the apparent charges of the several departments in every year. It is for this reason that the annual statements have been incompetent to determine, what has been the actual amount of charges incurred in each year, and consequently what would have been the actual net surplus revenue, had no such arrears of charges been so defrayed.

It

It has been before observed, that the years 1784-5 and 1785-6, do not come within the period of these statements; and with respect to the following years, the general accounts which have been laid before Parliament, contain the amount *defrayed* in each year, whether on account of current charges, or of arrears of former years. This circumstance, together with that of the amount of debts owing at the beginning and end of each year, not being accurately investigated, makes it impossible to ascertain, with precision, what may have been the real surplus revenues above the actual charges. The title of the statements here referred to is, “ *An Account of the Annual Charges Defrayed,*” &c.; from not attending to which, and the explanatory notes at the bottom of the accounts, the writers of the Pamphlets, alluded to in the introduction, have always taken the amount so paid, as the current charges of the year.

In order to remedy this defect in the above accounts, other statements  
were

were ordered to be laid before Parliament, which should shew the actual amount of the charges incurred annually at each of the Presidencies in India, compared with the estimate of the same, which had been received from thence in the preceding year. The accounts, however, for a considerable time, were insufficient for this purpose; for the year 1786-7, this account could only be made for the Presidency of Bengal, and that in an imperfect manner; but, for the subsequent year, the Bengal accounts have been complete. With respect to Madras and Bombay, the comparative statements of their estimated and actual receipts and charges for 1787-8, were imperfect; as also was the Madras account for 1788-9, and that for Bombay was not received in due time to be presented to Parliament in 1790, but is included in the letter, No. 31. of the papers on this subject, printed in 1791. For the year 1789-90, these accounts are made complete for all the Presidencies.

These

These statements, so far as they have been made up, shew, that arrears, to a certain extent, have been included in the amount of charges defrayed; and as far as the net amount of the revenues received in this period can be ascertained from them, it nearly agrees with the result of the account of receipts and payments, hereafter inserted. The only use, therefore, to which they could be applied, in this place, would be to confirm that result: but, as they are incomplete, in several instances, it seemed proper to omit them. ✓

Another view, in which the accounts from India are to be considered, is the amount, which, during those years, the resources of that country have supplied to the purposes of commerce, over and above the amount of goods, and stores, received from Europe, and of bills drawn on the Court of Directors.

This view of the subject, is, of course, more particularly connected with the present object of discussion,  
K than



than either of the former, as it shews the whole sum that India has been able to supply, in aid to the Company's finances, from every resource, whether of current revenue, of arrears recovered, or gain by commercial, or other transactions, at the factories. For although the accounts of the annual revenues of the provinces in India, include all the large articles of receipt, yet they omit various small particulars, which, in the aggregate for several years, afford considerable aid to the Indian resources\*. And, it has thence happened, that the amount appropriated in those years to the provision of goods for Europe, payment of commercial charges, supplies to China, and to the cash in the treasury, after allowing for the sums received for the sale of exports received from Europe,

\* These consist of debts recovered from individuals ; sums over-drawn refunded ; presents to the Governor sold ; gain on remittances, and at the factories ; fees paid, &c. of which a variety of particulars may be found under the head of extraordinary receipts, in No. 27, 28, and 34 of the accounts for 1791, and No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 of those for 1790, ordered to be printed on the 24th March.

Europe, and bills drawn on the Court of Directors, has been greater than the surplus resulting from the above-mentioned annual accounts of revenues and charges.

The first statement respects the amount of revenues received and charges defrayed in India, in the four years, 1786 to 1790, the general result of which is,

Excess of  
revenues  
above  
charges  
and inter-  
est paid,

That the revenues received from  
1786-7 to 1789-90, inclusive, have  
amounted to per Appendix, No. 5 £. 26,980,615  
And the charges defrayed during  
the same period, to - - 21,584,560

£.  
3,956,246

Surplus £. 5,396,055  
\* The amount of interest paid 1,439,809

Excess of revenues above the pay-  
ments actually made - £. 3,956,246

This account shews the amount  
which might be applied to com-  
K 2                      merical

\* The amount of interest incurred in those four years, as per Appendix, No. 5, was 2,110,785*l.* of which the interest on the bond debt at Bombay amounted to 727,877*l.* which had been added to the principal, except to the amount of 56,901*l.* paid in the years 1787-8, 1788-9, and 1789-90. The remainder, therefore, 670,976*l.* could not form any part of the payments actually made in those years—this deducted, leaves the sum here stated.

mercial, or other purposes, from the revenues of India, over and above the several charges paid during this period.

Amount  
supplied  
from the  
general  
resources  
of India,  
to the  
purposes  
of com-  
merce,  
from 1786  
to 1790,  
more than  
received  
from Eu-  
rope.

£.  
4,124,072

The following statement shews the amount actually appropriated from the revenue of India in general ; to cargoes shipped for Europe, to supplies to China ; to the payment of commercial charges in India ; to the encrease of goods in the warehouses ; and to the encrease of cash in the treasuries there ; from the 30th of April 1786, to the 30th April 1790.

From the 30th of April 1786, to the 30th of April 1790, the cargoes shipped from India for the Company's sales, have amounted to, by No. 6. - - -	£. 3,815,647
And the commercial charges paid in India, to -	403,369
And the amount supplied to the factory in China - - - -	793,680
The value of goods collected in the warehouses in India in 1790, to furnish future cargoes, exceeded their amount in 1786, by No. 1.	124,852
	£. 5,137,548

Brought forward £. 5,137,548  
 And the cash in the treasuries, as has been already stated, exceeded in 1790, its amount in 1786, by - - 523,665  
£. 5,661,213

From this sum is to be deducted,  
 The amount received from the sale of goods exported thither by the Company by No. 10 £. 1,024,449  
 And the amount of bills and certificates drawn on the Court of Directors by No. 7. - 398,077

The value of bullion exported by the Company to Bombay and Bencoolen, to be received in the same period, is by No. 9. - 114,615  
£. 1,537,141

The amount, therefore, which has been supplied from the resources of India, to the purposes above-mentioned, is - - £. 4,124,072

From this sum, however, is to be deducted, the amount of charges incurred at home, for raising recruits, payments made to the King's troops, interest on the India debt transferred, stores not brought to account in India, and other articles of expence, appertaining to the territorial possessions in India, amounting in the whole, to -

Charges  
 at home  
 on account of  
 India,  
 893,226/.

893,226  
£. 3,230,846

The

\* The expenses of raising recruits, half-pay to officers, pensions, charges of packets to India, &c.

The amount, therefore, which  
the revenues of India have furnished  
in

&c. are included under the head of *Charges of Merchandize*, and are not sufficiently discriminated from the charges appertaining to the Company's commercial transactions. The amount charged in this statement, is the difference between the total charges of merchandize, and the amount stated to be incurred on the sale of goods in each year.

The charges of merchandize from 1787 to 1791, per No. 4. a- mounted to	-	-	- £. 1,453,553
And the charges placed to the ac- count of goods sold, per No. 8. to			1,118,376

---

Difference charged against the reve- nues of India	-	-	- £. 335,182
Amount issued by the King's Pay- master-General for the pay of troops serving in India, No. 4.			290,486
And the interest incurred to the 1st March 1791, on the part of the India debt transferred, No. 7.			203,658

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Total expences incurred at home, on account of the possessions in India	-	-	- £. 829,326
---	---	---	--------------

In addition to this sum, I have stated  
as an expence incurred at home,  
the value of goods and stores ex-  
ported, which do not appear to  
have been brought to account in  
India. Thus the value of goods  
and stores exported to India from  
1785-6 to 1788 9, to be received

there

in these four years, to the aid of the Company's treasuries at home and abroad, or the payment of commercial charges, over and above all the expenses incurred at home, on account of those territorial possessions, is 3,230,846*l.* which, on the average, is 807,712*l.* per annum.

At

Brought forward	£. 829,326	
there in 1786-7 to 1789-90, amounted to, per No. 9.		
	£. 1,281,939	
Add stores on hand 30th April 1786. No. 1.	786,662	
Add Goods from Europe, Do. 30th April 1786. No. 1.	184,330	
	<hr/>	
	£. 2,252,931	
Received for import goods sold in this period. No. 10.	£. 1,024,449	
Stores on hand 30th April 1790. No. 1.	904,694	
Goods from Europe, Do 30th April 1790. No. 1.	259,888	
	<hr/>	
	2,189,031	
Stores, &c. unaccounted for	-	63,900
		<hr/>
Which is therefore stated as a loss to the Company, and encreases the charges against the revenues of India, to the sum of	-	£. 893,226



At the same time, it is to be observed, that the expenses of this period, have been encreased above the ordinary charges of the Governments in India, by new-modelling the army, and the arrangements made for conducting the business of the several civil and military departments, by which the irregularity, that formerly prevailed, has been removed. A very considerable expense was also incurred at Madras, by the preparations for war in 1787-8, and in 1789-90, above the ordinary amount of the peace establishment.

## SECTION IV.

State of the Company's Trade  
with India and China.

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IN order to give a distinct idea of the state of the trade of the East-India Company for this period, it is necessary to consider them merely in the light of a mercantile body, obliged to furnish from the funds of their trade, the sums required for the purchase of the goods abroad, to supply their sales at home, and to defray all charges at home and abroad of a commercial nature; the interest of money borrowed, and the dividends on the Capital Stock belonging to the Proprietors. This subject, of course, consists of two parts, the Import and the Export Trade.

## L            IMPORT

## IMPORT TRADE.

Net amount derived from the Import Trade after defraying all charges and dividends, £. 400,315.

The first statement to be referred to, under this head, is the Account, No. 8. which shews the abstract totals of the prime cost and sale amount, together with the several charges payable on those goods :

The quantity of goods from India, sold from 1787 to 1791, amounted to	-	-	£. 7,966,715
Their prime cost, and several charges of freight, customs, &c. to			<u>7,560,233</u>

Profit on India goods	-	£. 406,482
Sale amount of goods from China	-	£. 10,672,960
Their prime cost, and several charges	-	<u>8,791,314</u>

Profit on China goods	-	<u>1,881,646</u>
-----------------------	---	------------------

Net profit on four years sales £. 2,288,128

This is the amount of profit on the goods sold from 1787 to 1791, according to those statements ; but in order to give a general view of the whole amount derived from the import trade, as applicable to the payment of the dividends on stock, interest on annuities and bonds, or to the increase of assets, the other re-

Carried forward	£. 2,288,128
-----------------	--------------

Brought forward £. 2,288,128  
 ceipts of the Company at home must  
 be included ; and, on the other hand,  
 all charges, not already stated, of a  
 commercial nature, must be deducted  
 from the sum so arising.

The sums received of Government  
 for interest on the loan, as before  
 described, amount to - £. 504,000

The charges and profit on goods  
 sold in private trade, per No. 4. - 308,985

And the goods in warehouse, on 1st  
 March 1791, amounted to more  
 than on 1st March 1787, by page 59. 1,545,395

Total of profit on goods sold,  
 and other receipts - 4,646,508

The expenses to be placed against  
 this sum consist of the commercial  
 charges in India, charges of St.  
 Helena, the prime cost and charges  
 of freight, of goods remaining un-  
 sold, &c. amounting to - \* 2,079,619  
 £. 2,566,889

The amount incurred for dividends  
 on stock, interest on annuities and  
 bonds, as before stated - 2,166,574

Net amount realised from the  
 import trade, after defraying  
 all charges, dividends, &c. £. 400,315

L 2

The

\* This amount is composed of the following  
 particulars :

Commercial charges in India, 1786-7  
 to 1789-90, per No. 6. - £. 403,369

Expenses of bills from, and exports  
 to St. Helena, No. 7. and 9. 114,711

Carried forward £. 518,080

The result, therefore, of this statement is, that after allowing for the prime cost of all cargoes shipped from India and China, and for all charges

	Brought forward	£. 518,080
The prime cost of all cargoes shipped from India, amount, as per No. 6.		
to - - -	£. 3,815,647	
Those from China, per No. 11. -	7,222,895	
Add the cargo of the Houghton, shipped after closing the Quick-Stocks in India, per No. 1. -	113,550	
And tea purchased on the continent, page 58. -	73,308	
		<hr/>
Prime cost of all goods shipped for the Company - - -	£. 11,225,400	
The amount charged in No. 8. against the goods fold - - -	10,165,249	
		<hr/>
Remains therefore to be charged against the goods unfold, or to loss in the trade - - -		1,060,151
The amount incurred for freight, as before, page 58. -	£. 3,368,915	
Charged against the goods fold in No. 8. -	2,888,881	
		<hr/>
Remains to be charged		480,034
Besides these sums, the interest on bills drawn from India is considered as a charge incurred at home, per No. 7. - - -		8,82
		<hr/>
Carried forward	£. 2,067,094	

charges appertaining to the trade in general, both at home and abroad, together with the dividends on stock, and interest on annuities and bonds, the import trade has yielded a net surplus of 400,315*l*.

Brought forward	£. 2,067,094
And a debt incurred in the department of shipping, &c. as explained in a note to page 57	- - 12,525
	<hr/> £. 2,079,619

The prime cost of cargoes from China, as here stated, is converted from the Chinese currency (*tales*) into pounds sterling, at the rates at which bills were drawn on the Court of Directors in the respective years; and as those bills were drawn payable at one year's sight, or about a year and a half after date, the interest for that period was included in the rates of the bills, and consequently the amount stated in pounds sterling as the prime cost of those cargoes, in fact, includes the interest for the same time on what may be called their *real prime cost*, i. e. the sum which would have been paid for them, in money at China, if they could have been paid for, without drawing any bills on the Court of Directors.

## EXPORT



## EXPORT TRADE.

Excess of  
the Sale  
amount,  
goods and  
bullion  
above the  
prime  
cost,

£.  
578,801.

In the preceding statement, the import trade has been considered as the principal object of the East India Company, to supply which, ships must be freighted to India and China, and commercial charges incurred; every expense therefore of this nature has been stated against the goods sold or imported into Great Britain; and consequently in this manner of treating the subject, there remains only the prime cost to be charged against the articles exported. If, however, the export trade were to be viewed separate from the import, a proportion of the charges of freight, and of other expenses, should undoubtedly be placed against the sale of those articles abroad; but this, at the same time that it would diminish the apparent profits on the export, would equally encrease those on the import trade; so that the result on the statement of both would be

be exactly the same as arises from the manner in which they are here stated \*. Without, therefore, entering into any discussion respecting what proportion of the several charges ought to be placed against each, I have charged the import trade with all expenses, and only the prime cost at home is opposed to the sale amount of the articles exported to India and China.

The exports consist of various articles of manufactured goods for sale; of bullion; and of stores for use and sale. The stores sent to China and St. Helena, being merely for the use of those settlements, constitute part of the charges attending them. Those sent to India, are for the use of the Civil, Marine, and Military Departments, as well as for sale.

The

\* In the preceding section it appeared that the excess of freight incurred above what was stated against the goods sold, amounted to 480,034 $\frac{1}{2}$ . this was therefore charged against the goods unsold; but it is evident that a proportion of that sum belongs to the export trade, &c.

The disposal of the stores in India has not been regularly brought to account, so as to ascertain what part of the civil and military charges has been defrayed by their appropriation\*. In some instances, the sale of these stores is blended with that of the goods; and in others, their expenditure forms a part of the amount charged for stores in general, which also includes those purchased in that country. In stating the charges incurred at home, on account of the territories in India, I have placed the total amount of goods and stores exported against the sums which the governments of India have debited themselves for, as the amount received from the sale of them, the result of which is, after allowing for the goods and stores on hand, that a sum of 63,900*l.* is

\* In the Account, No. 15: ordered to be printed the 11th March 1790, it is stated, that "the sale of stores cannot be ascertained, except "for Bengal, in 1788-89, and Bombay in (the "estimate) 1789-90." In the two years therefore, 1786-7 and 1787-8, the amount received for the sale of imports, is wholly exclusive of the sale of stores.

is unaccounted for, (as stated in page 71,) which has been already added to the charges incurred at home, on account of the territorial possessions. But although this difference occurs between the prime cost and sale amount of goods and stores exported to India, it does not follow that such a loss has been sustained by the export trade thither; for it has been already observed, that the amount of the sale of import stores in India, could not be ascertained in the years 1786-7 and 1787-8, and consequently the sum stated as the total received from the sale of goods and stores in those four years, must be below the actual amount. The difference, however, which has not yet been brought to account, is charged against the revenues of India.

The cost of stores exported to China is also included with that of the goods for sale, and charged against the amount for which they were sold; and the sale amount of the goods, as applied to the purchase of cargoes for Europe, exceeds the

M                      prime

prime cost of them at home by  
205,421/ \*.

The bullion exported to China, is valued at its prime cost, and the weight in *tales*, when received in China, is converted into pounds sterling, at the rate per tale for which bills were drawn on the Court of Directors, for dollars paid into the Treasury at Canton. The amount thus saved to the Company, by exporting bullion to China, and purchasing a part of their cargoes with it, instead of paying for the whole by bills, is 373,380/ †.

The

\* Sale amount of goods, from Europe, in China,  
per No. 10. - - £. 1,490,700

Prime cost of goods and stores exported  
to China in seasons 1785 and  
1788, No. 9. - - 1,285,279

Excess of sale amount - £. 205,421

N. B. No goods from England remained at  
China unsold either in 1786 or 1790.

† The amount of the bullion received in  
China from 1786-7 to 1789-90, as applied to the  
purchase of cargoes. per No. 12. £. 2,868,900

Prime cost of bullion exported  
from Great Britain, to be received  
at China in that period. No. 9. 2,495,520

Value more in China - - £. 373,380

I have

The amount, therefore, supplied from the export trade to China, above the charges of prime cost at home, is 578,801*l.* which, added to the profit on the import trade, after defraying all charges of a commercial nature at home and abroad, viz. 400,313*l.* the amount derived from the import and export trade towards the improvement of the Company's affairs within this period, is 979,116*l.*

Amount  
realized  
from the  
import  
and ex-  
port  
trade,  
*£.*  
976,116

M 2

The

I have expressed the difference between the prime cost of goods and bullion, and the sum to which the proportion of the cargoes purchased by the sale of them amounted to, in this manner, instead of calling it *Profit on Goods or Bullion*, because, as those cargoes are valued at the rates at which bills are drawn, payable at certain terms after sight, the interest for that term is of course included in the rate. But, with respect to the proportion paid for by bills, it is to be observed, that the Company have the use of the money until the bills become due; whereas, in exporting goods and bullion, they lose the use of the money employed in the purchase, from the time of that purchase, to the same date. By sending out goods and bullion, however, the Company save that interest, which they must otherwise pay to individuals; and, as the interest on loans, &c. is charged under the head of *Charges of Merchandize*, against the import trade, the amount so saved, is equally so much addition to the funds of the Company, as if it were actually profit on the goods and bullion exported.

Net a-  
mount  
received  
from the  
revenues  
and trade,

£.  
4,209,963

The amount derived from the re-  
sources of India, as before stated,  
was 3,230,846/. the total therefore,  
thus accounted for, is 4,209,963/.



## SECTION V.

The general Result of the  
foregoing Statements.

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I SHALL conclude this part of the subject, with recapitulating the results of the several accounts referred to.

First; From the comparison of the debts owing by the Company, and of the effects belonging to them in India and China, as they stood on the 30th of April 1786, and 30th of April 1790, it appeared that the debts were less by £.3,213,612  
And cash and bills, &c. more by 575,550

Better in India and China £.3,789,162  
From the comparison of the debts at home, it appeared that the Company had applied to the payment of debts at home, from 1787 to 1791. - - £.1,414,596  
And that the goods in warehouse, and other assets, were more by 1,723,083

£.3,137,679

And that a sum equal to this amount, had been realized at home in this period, was further proved, within a small difference, from

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Carried forward, £. 3,137,679      3,789,162

Brought forward	£. 3,137,679	3,789,162
the comparison of the goods sold, and of the other articles of receipt, with the se- veral payments made, or charges incurred. From this sum, deduct- ing the amount of debt transferred home from India, between the 30th of April 1786, and 30th April 1790.	-	£. 2,682,505
The Company's affairs at home appeared to be better to the a- mount of	-	<u>£. 455,174</u>
The total improvement in their af- fairs abroad and at home, by this comparison, is	-	£. 4,244,336
Second; From the accounts of the sums supplied from the resources of In- dia, to the purposes of commerce, and to encrease the cash in the treasuries, it appeared, that after allowing for all expenses incur- red at home, the net amount was	-	£. 3,230,846
The profits on the goods imported from India and China, sold, and in the warehouses, ap- peared to have a- mounted to	£. 400,315	
And the a- mount re- ceived in China for the sale of export		
	<u>£. 400,315</u>	<u>3,230,847</u>
		<u>4,244,336</u>

Continued	£400,315	£3,230,846	£4,244,336,
goods, more than the prime cost of the same at home, was - -		205,421	
Ditto, by sending bul- lion, ditto		373,380	
Net amount derived from the import and export trade	—————	£. 979,116	
Total improvement from the revenues of India, and profits on the trade	- - ————	£. 4,209,962	

The results thus drawn from accounts totally distinct from each other, being so nearly equal, is a sufficient proof of their general correctness ; the difference is 34,374*l.* to which sum, the net improvement of the Company's affairs, as resulting from the comparison of their debts and assets in 1786-7, and 1790-91, has been accounted for, by the amount derived from the resources of India, and the profits on their trade, and this difference has been already explained by  
the

the circumstance of the comparative statement of debts and assets, including, with respect to the home accounts, one month more in 1787, than the statements of receipts and payments, and profits on the trade at home.

## SECTION VI.

## Remarks on a late Publication on the Affairs of the East-India Company.

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THE statements which have been already given, afford a sufficient answer to the several assertions respecting the unproductive state of the revenues of India. and of the Company's trade, which have been brought forward in some pamphlets, &c. on this subject, in the course of the last three years. Having, however, advanced in the Introduction, that those publications abound with inaccuracies, I think it right to point out a few gross misstatements, in order to shew, by what means, conclusions, so very different from the actual result, have been drawn. For this purpose, I shall select the latest pamphlet of this kind that has been published, because it particularly refers to the period for which these statements are made, and the writer

N appears

appears to have been in possession of most of the materials which I have made use of.

In this Pamphlet, which is entitled, *A Letter to the Right Honorable Henry Dundas*, a statement is given, and argued upon, as if it afforded a decisive proof, that the whole four years profit on the trade, and receipts from the revenues from 1786-7, to 1790-91, had afforded but 2,152,505*l.* and that the diminution of debt, in the same period, had been but 150,338*l.*

The principal misstatements, from which that erroneous conclusion is drawn, are as follows :

The net surplus of India, from 1786-7 to 1790-91, is computed by this writer, at 3,196,554*l.*\* From the same accounts, it appears, in  
page

\* P. 8. " It appears then, that the territorial  
" possessions, without any reference to, or con-  
" nection with trade, have (including all re-  
" ceipts) produced to the Company in the last  
" four years 3,196,554*l.* to obtain which they  
" have been obliged to shift from their exche-  
" quer abroad, to their counting-house at home,  
" the sum of 3,171,401*l.* The event, therefore,  
" of

page 67 of the foregoing sheets, that the net surplus amounted to 3,956,246*l.* which, from the circumstances there explained, was not the whole sum which the resources of India had afforded to the purposes of trade, &c. In making this computation, the writer states the whole interest incurred on the debts in India as paid, and the whole of the charges *defrayed* as incurred; whereas, very little of the interest incurred at Bombay (vide No. 5, of 24th March 1790, and the two Nos. 34, of 1791\*) was paid in this period; but,

N 2                      arrears

“ of the four last years is precisely this—England has gained, at the expense of India, 3,196,554*l.* and India has gained, at the expense of England, 3,171,401*l.* Balance in favour of England 25,153*l.*”

It is not easy to see what reference this latter part of the paragraph has to the subject of the Company's Finances; for the amount transferred from India, was as much a debt owing by the Company, before it was transferred, as afterwards. In a note on the above sum of transferred debt, it is stated, that it was transferred from 1786-7 to 1789-90, which is erroneous; for 488,86*l.* of that sum was drawn for, after the 30th of April 1790, and has no connection with the four years; the whole of the inference is, of course, unfounded.

\* These accounts shew the receipts and disbursements, in general, of the Bombay government



✓ arrears there, and at the other settlements, were paid to nearly an equal amount, and form a part of the charges *defrayed*; by not attending to this circumstance, he has charged near 700,000*l.* too much against the resources of India. This sum, and his having taken the revenues and charges of Bombay, in 1789-90, and the expenses of Bencoolen and Prince of Wales' island, on estimate, &c. accounts for the error of 759,692*l.* in the article of surplus revenue from India.

The profit on private trade is stated in this Pamphlet at 354,889*l.* this is 45,904*l.* too much, the correct sum being 308,985*l.* These errors occur on the receipt side of that statement.

On the D<sup>r</sup> side, 179,508*l.* is charged for "*Tea purchased in Europe, between*

ment in 1787-8, 1788-9, and 1789-90; from which it appears, that the total paid in these years, on account of the bond debt, was B. Rupees 4,90,528, or 56,901*l.* In No. 12. of the Accounts for 1788, also, it is stated, that the interest on the Bombay bonded debt is annually added to the principal,

*between the 1st of March 1787, and 1st of March 1791;*" this is the amount paid in that period, but, of which 106,200*l.* was owing on the 1st of March 1787, to which sum, this article is erroneous.

A sum of 898,541*l.* is charged as the "*precise sum paid for freight and demurrage, and charges of merchandize, more than are deducted from the sales.*" The actual amount, including the encrease of debt in the department of shipping, since 1787, is 827,741*l.*; so that the writer has committed an error of 70,800*l.* in this article \*.

The

* Paid for freight, after allowing for what paid by private traders, per No. 4.	£. 3,380,015
Charged against goods sold, per No. 8.	2,888,881
	<hr/> 491,134

Charges of merchandize paid, per No. 4.	-	£. 1,453,558
Charged against goods sold, per No. 8.	-	1,118,376
		<hr/> 335,182
		<hr/> 826,316

But it appears, from page 58, that 12,525*l.* more was owing for charges of merchandise, and 11,100*l.* less, in 1791, for freight; add, therefore, the difference

	-	1,425
		<hr/> £. 827,741

The next article is a charge of 560,000*l.* for “ loss on goods and stores exported from England to India and China, for four years, at 140,000*l.* per annum.” And this, the author says, “ is not stated as in all former accounts, at a *supposed* sum, but is the real amount on an average of three years, which is as far back as can be calculated from the present papers (see No. 15, 39, 49, and the Quick Stock accounts for 1787, and 1790.”)

Notwithstanding this assertion the amount so charged is erroneous, and is proved to be so, by the very accounts referred to.

By No. 15, the amount received for India goods, in the three years, is	
C. Rs. 76,96,266	£. 769,627
By No. 49, the amount received in China is	1,141,439
	<hr/>
	£. 1,911,066
By the Quick-Stock Account for 1787, No. 7. and No. 14. of the Accounts ordered to be printed, 24th March 1790, the stores and import goods amounted to	
C. Rs. 1,07,34,554	
	<hr/>
Carried forward, C. Rs. 1,07,34,554	£ 1,911,066

Brought forward, *C. Rs.* 1,07,34,554 *£.* 1,911,666  
 By the Quick-Stock Account for 1790, No. 18,  
 of the Accounts for 1791, the articles of  
 the same kind amount-  
 ed to - - - 1,16,45,823

More in 1790 *C. Rs.* 9,11,269 *£.* 91,127

Goods and stores sold, and on hand  
 more - - - *£.* 2,002,193

The value of goods and stores ex-  
 ported to India and China, in the  
 three years 1786, 1787, and 1788,  
 amounted, as per No. 39, (exclusive  
 of St. Helena) to - 2,052,027

The difference on the whole of the  
 three years is - - *£.* 49,834

Which on the average would be only *£.* 16,611

The whole, therefore, that, ac-  
 cording to the accounts referred to,  
 could be charged as a loss sustained  
 by the Company, in the article of  
 exports, on the average of these three  
 years, is 16,611*l.*; and this for  
 four years, would have amounted to  
 66,444*l.* the writer, therefore, com-  
 mitted an error of 493 556*l.* in com-  
 paring the particulars stated in the  
 accounts to which he refers \*.

The

\* The writer appears to have made this error,  
 by comparing the amount of goods and stores  
 exported

The remaining articles of expense, in the statement from which the general result is drawn, as before stated, are in some degree erroneous; besides which, it may be observed, as an omission on the other side of the account, that no allowance whatever is made for the profit on bullion, &c. exported to China.

In

exported from England, between October 1787 and October 1790, with the sums received for goods sold in India and China between the 30th of April 1787 and 30th of April 1790; that is, he has included the goods and stores exported in January, February, March, April, May, and June 1790, as received in India and China, by or before the 30th of April 1790, or sooner than a part of them were shipped from home. For, in consequence of the great increase that has been annually made in the articles exported for some years past, the amount of exports in 1789-90 was 372,887*l.* more than in 1786-7.

Taking those three years, therefore, from October 1787 to October 1790, the amount of goods and stores exported to India and China, as per No. 9. is 2,424,909*l.* from which deducting the amount received for goods and stores, including the increased value on hand on 30th April 1790, as above stated, viz. 2,002,193*l.* the difference is 422,716*l.*; the average of which would be 140,905*l.*; and it therefore seems probable, that it was by some such *ingenious* calculation, that the author exceeded all his predecessors on this subject, by ascertaining a *real amount*, whereas they could only *state a supposed sum*!

In the next statement of the amount of debts owing by the Company, in 1786-87, and 1790-91, the amount of debts in India is taken from the Quick-Stocks of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, for the 30th of April 1786; but the author has omitted the debts at Bencoolen, and the Military Arrears at Madras and Bombay, of 31st December 1785, and interest at Bengal, amounting, in the whole, to current rupees 1,67,67,231/. or 1,676,231/. as is particularly stated in Paragraph 13, of No. 29, of the papers laid before Parliament in 1791. In stating the interest incurred in India in 1788-9, the writer refers to No. 31, of those papers, and if it be supposed that he read No. 29, at the same time, it would follow, that the error was committed for the purpose of giving a statement, that should apparently support the inferences, which it was previously intended to exhibit.

The total of debts also in 1790-91, is stated at 48,737, below the actual amount, this error was made in the

O

sum

sum owing on the 1st of March 1791, for the debt transferred from India\*.

In stating the encreased value of goods in the warehouses in 1791, this writer objects to its being considered as an article of profit to the Company, because it “ must be considered in two lights, either as a stock, which it is necessary to have on hand, in order to provide against contingencies, or as a quantity imported beyond what the annual consumption can take off. If it is of the former nature, then it is no more a profit, than the warehouse which is built to contain it, if it be of the latter nature; then it cannot be converted into cash, unless all further importation be stopped till it is sold.”

In

\* The amount owing for the debt transferred from India, is stated in No. 25. of the accounts laid before Parliament in 1791, exclusive of the interest to 1793, at 2,352,674*l*; in the pamphlet here referred to, it is stated at 2,303,937*l*. or 48,737*l*. less. Of the 2,352,674*l*. in No. 25, it is to be observed, that 163,338*l*. was transferred from India after the 30th of April 1790.



In reply to this objection, it is sufficient to observe, that an encrease of trade, necessarily requires an encreased stock of goods to carry it on. But, the principal cause of the large difference, in the present instance, is, the small amount of teas that were in the warehouses in 1787; for, the demand on the Company at that time, was so great, in consequence of the suppression of smuggling, by the operation of the Commutation Act, that they had been obliged to import large quantities of tea from the Continent of Europe, to supply their sales, and therefore, the quantity kept in their warehouses, was necessarily be low what the state of the trade required. The amount was only about equal to two-thirds of a year's sale, whereas the Commutation Act directed, that there should be in their warehouses, at a particular period of the year, a quantity equal to one year's consumption. By the large importations from China, which have been made since 1787, the teas in the warehouses have been encreased to the amount required; and the quantity

now to be annually imported, may be regulated according to the annual consumption, without incurring the risk of being again reduced to the necessity of purchasing teas on the Continent to supply their sales.

The author, however admits, that in the case of his lending money to the Company, the stock on hand affords him “ *a certain sort of security for the repayment of his principal, but it does not in any degree clear up the prospect of what he is told he shall receive as interest.*” That is to say, because the Company, in the last four years, in order to render their stock of goods on hand adequate to the demands of their trade, on its present extended scale, have increased the quantity of their goods in the warehouses to the amount of one million and a half; in consequence of which the demands on their treasuries at home have been larger, and, of course, the balance of cash in their treasuries for this period diminished; it therefore follows that this is to be the case in future years, notwithstanding the end for which such increase was made, has been answered,

answered, and the requisite stock for the warehouses provided !

That a circumstance of this nature might take place, would however not be improbable, if it were supposed that the Company's trade to India and China would admit of a farther augmentation to a proportional extent ; but in that case, the profits would also be proportionally increased, and consequently the general situation of the Company's affairs would be so much better ; and, at any rate, even in such an event, the inference " that, setting a part  
 " 50,000*l.* per annum, for contin-  
 " gencies, and presuming all future  
 " years to be as good as the for-  
 " mer, the East-India Company  
 " cannot pay as interest for any loans  
 " they may have occasion for, more  
 " than 100,000*l.* per annum,"\* is  
 un-

\* This inference is made from the following statement, page 13. " The balance or *profit*  
 " which appears to grow out of this account, I  
 " have stated, *including* the increased stock to  
 " amount to 2,152,505*l.* and *deducting* the in-  
 " creased stock on hand, to be only 607,110*l.* or  
 " 151,777*l.* per annum."

unfounded; because it has been already proved, that the premises from which this conclusion is drawn, are erroneous to the amount of nearly two millions sterling.

The errors above noticed, are sufficient to shew what degree of credit the whole of this Publication is intitled to, and will serve as a specimen by which to estimate the merits of others of a similar description. For, it is to be observed, that this pamphlet has not been selected because of its being more erroneous than many others, but because of its being less so; for, in many instances, the statements brought forward in it are nearer being correct, than those in any other pamphlet on this subject, which has been published since the Accounts, relative to the East India Company's Affairs, have annually been submitted to the investigation of Parliament.

## APPENDIX.





# A P P E N D I X, No. I.

A COMPARISON of the DEBTS and ASSETS at Bengal, Madras, Bombay, *Bencoolen* and *China*, as they stood in 1786, and in 1790.

Encrease of Affets in India, - - C. Rs. 1,04,75,601

## A S S E T S A T C H I N A.

	28th Feb. 1786.	14th Feb. 1790.	
No. 13, of 24th Cash	5,18,310	5,38,562	20,252 ✓ -
Debts from Sundries	-	2,53,853	2,53,853 ✓ -
Export Goods	15,18,090	-	15,18,090 ✓
	20,36,400	7,92,415	15,18,090

Decrease of Affets in China - - - 12,43,985

Encrease of Affets abroad - - C Rs. 92,31,616

But it appears from No. 25, of the Accounts laid before the House of Commons in 1791, that the Cargo of the Houghton, which arrived in January, 1791, was shipped from India after the 30th April, 1790; the Prime Cost is therefore to be deducted from the Affets in India, at that Period

11,35,507 ✓  
C. Rs. 80,96,109



# A P P E N D I X , No. I.

A COMPARISON of the DEBTS and ASSETS at Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Bencoolen and China, as they stood in 1786, and in 1790.

			† Debts 30th April, 1786.	* Debts 30th April, 1790.	More in 1790.	Lefts in 1790.	
D E B T S.			Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.
At Bengal	-	-	3,69,65,814	3,99,30,930	29,65,116	-	
Madras	-	-	2,22,15,850	1,53,15,150	-	69,00,700	
Bombay	-	-	3,76,48,841	1,49,79,207	-	2,26,69,574	
Bencoolen	-	-	9,07,541	4,68,032	-	4,39,509	
Current Rupees			9,77,38,055	7,06,93,379	29,65,116	3,00,09,792	
Decrease of Debts in India, in 1790							2,70,44,676
			28th Feb. 1786.	14th Feb. 1790.			
Debts at China	-	-	51,08,410	16,967	-	50,91,443	
Decrease of Debts in China							50,91,443
Total Decrease of Debts in India and China, C. Rs.							3,21,36,119

† See No. 19 of 1791, Paragraph 13.  
\* See No. 17 and 18, of 1791.

## A S S E T S at the several SETTLEMENTS in INDIA, collected from the QUICK STOCKS.

See No. 12 and 14, of 14th March, 1790; and No. 15, of 1791.

			30th April, 1786.	30th April, 1790.	More in 1790.	Lefts in 1790.	
Cash	-	-	84,10,821	1,22,07,983	37,97,162	-	
Bills receivable	-	-	2,47,369	16,86,857	14,39,488	-	
Stores	-	-	78,66,618	90,46,941	11,80,323	-	
Debts outstanding, including Advances on account of Luvelment	-	-	2,80,88,537	3,13,29,143	23,40,606	-	
Export Goods	-	-	37,27,617	49,76,140	12,48,523	-	
Import Goods	-	-	18,43,296	2,59,882	7,55,586	-	
Salt, Opium, Grain, &c.	-	-	10,92,356	8,06,269	-	2,86,087	
			5,21,76,614	6,26,52,215	1,07,61,688	2,86,087	
Increase of Affets in India, - C. Rs.							1,04,75,601

## A S S E T S AT C H I N A.

No. 13, of 14th March, 1791; and No. 16, of 1791.

			28th Feb. 1786.	14th Feb. 1790.			
Debts from Sundries	-	-	5,18,310	5,38,562	20,252	-	
Export Goods	-	-	15,18,090	2,53,853	2,53,853	15,18,090	
			20,36,400	7,92,415	2,74,105	15,18,090	
Decrease of Affets in China							12,43,685

Increase of Affets abroad - C. Rs. 92,31,616

But it appears from No. 25, of the Accounts laid before the House of Commons in 1791, that the Cargo of the Houghton, which arrived in January, 1791, was shipped from India after the 30th April, 1790; the Prime Cost is therefore to be deducted from the Affets in India, at that Period

C. Rs. 80,96,109

A S S E T S.			Assets, 31 Jan 1787.	Assets, 1 March, 1791.	More in 1791.	Less in 1791.
Due from Government to the Company	£		4,200,000	4,200,000	-	-
Balance of Cash in the Treasury	-		271,369	490,218	218,849	-
The Company's separate Fund	-		360,947	447,505	86,558	-
New Stock	-		85,180	13,860	-	71,320
Amount of Goods sold, not paid for	-		1,327,292	1,019,416	-	307,876
Value of Goods in England, unfold	-		2,777,494	4,343,031	1,565,537	-
Teas purchased in Europe, not arrived	-		47,399	-	-	47,399
Customs on Teas returned by the Buyers, claimed by the Company, to be repaid by Government }	-		21,621	21,621	-	-
Cargoes from England not arrived in India & China	-		1,193,891	1,711,282	517,391	-
Exports paid for	-		204,201	335,656	131,455	-
Silver exported, and remaining in the Treasury, } paid for	-		484,040	124,465	-	359,575
Imprespaid Owners of Ships, not arrived in England	-		129,978	103,940	-	26,038
Value of the India-House and Warehouses	-		277,628	325,300	47,672	-
Value of Ships, Sloops, &c. exclusive of those } stationed abroad	-		21,850	49,270	27,420	-
Old Claims on Government for Subfistence to } French Prisoners, Expedition to Manilla, &c. }	-		422,011	422,011	-	-
£			11,824,901	13,607,575	2,594,882	812,208

See Accounts laid before Parliament, No. 1, of 1790, dated 19th April; and No. 24 of 1791.

A COMPARISON of the DEBTS and ASSETS of the EAST-INDIA COMPANY at Home and Abroad outward, as they stood on 31st *January*, 1787, and on the 1st *March*, 1791.

D E B T S.		Lefts. 31 Jan. 1787.	Lefts. 1 March, 1791.	More in 1791.	Lefts in 1791.
Owing, by the Company, to the Annuitants	£	2,992,440	2,992,440	-	-
Bonds, bearing Interest	-	1,996,700	3,150,700	1,200,000	-
Ditto, not bearing Interest	-	10,517	6,304	-	875
Bills of Exchange from India and China, unpaid	-	4,701,633	608,573	-	3,593,260
Customs on Goods, fold, and unfold,	-	453,708	553,995	103,287	-
Bank of England, for a Loan on the Credit of } Exchequer Bills	-	300,000	300,000	-	-
Ditto, for a Loan on Mortgage of Annuities	-	-	100	100	-
Ditto, for Interest on the above Loans	-	4,635	6,002	1,369	-
Freight and Demorage	-	346,000	300,000	-	46,000
Supra-Cargos Commission on Goods, fold, and } unfold	-	56,913	67,500	11,587	-
Proprietors of Private Trade on all Goods fold	-	250,500	308,150	181,150	-
Owing for Exports sent out in the Season 1789	-	-	180,100	180,100	-
Alms-Houses at Poplar	-	12,060	57,500	45,522	-
Interest on Military Fund, more than applied	-	61,094	51,500	-	8,688
Ditto on Contingent Fund, ditto	-	12,074	10,501	-	1,573
Warrants passed the Court, unpaid	-	36,900	21,000	-	15,300
Owing in the Department of the Committee of } Shipping (exclusive of Exports)	-	73,673	88,100	14,427	-
Ditto for Teas returned by the Buyers, and re-fold,	-	6,169	5,914	-	225
For Teas purchased in Europe	-	173,858	-	-	173,858
Due to Government per Agreement in 1781	-	100,000	-	-	100,000
Interest on Annuities	-	58,191	59,779	1,588	-
Ditto on Bonds	-	51,435	72,163	20,828	-
Dividends on Stock	-	201,749	79,857	-	122,092
Capital Stock	-	4,000,000	5,000,000	1,000,000	-
	£	15,443,349	13,978,436	2,596,658	400,1871
Amount of Debts transferred from India to } 30th of April, 1790, unpaid, -	-	-	2,189,336	2,189,336	-
A S S E T S.		Assets, 31 Jan. 1787.	Assets, 1 March, 1791.	More in 1791.	Less in 1791.
Due from Government to the Company	£	4,200,000	4,200,000	-	-
Balance of Cash in the Treasury	-	271,369	490,218	218,849	-
The Company's separate Fund	-	360,047	447,505	86,558	-
New Stock	-	85,180	13,800	-	71,380
Amount of Goods fold, not paid for	-	1,327,292	1,019,410	-	307,876
Value of Goods in Europe, unfold	-	2,777,494	4,343,031	1,565,537	-
Teas purchased in Europe, not arrived	-	47,399	-	-	47,399
Customs on Teas returned by the Buyers, claimed } by the Company, to be repaid by Government	-	21,621	21,621	-	-
Cargoes from England not arrived in India & China	-	1,193,891	1,711,282	517,391	-
Exports paid for	-	204,201	335,656	131,455	-
Silver exported, and remaining in the Treasury, } paid for	-	484,040	124,465	-	359,575
Impress paid Owners of Ships, not arrived in England	-	129,978	103,940	-	26,038
Value of the India-House and Warehouses	-	277,628	325,300	47,672	-
Value of Ships, Sloops, &c. exclusive of those } stationed abroad	-	21,850	49,270	27,420	-
Old Claims on Government for Subsistence to } French Prisoners, Expedition to Mauritius, &c.	-	422,011	422,011	-	-
	£	11,824,901	13,607,575	2,594,882	812,208

See Accounts laid before Parliament, No. 1, of 1790, dated 19th April, and No. 24 of 1791.

# A P P E N D I X III.

† Goods and Stores exported	£ 7,983,635	5,623,971	1,448,773	3,808,437
	268,191	772,253	504,062	-
	£ 8,251,826	6,396,224	1,952,835	3,808,437

See Accounts laid before Parliament in 1787, dated 1st May; and No. 23 of 1791.

+ The Amount of Debts in this Account on 1st March, 1787, is considerably different from that in the preceding Statement for 31st January, 1787; because a great Part of the Dividends on Stock, and some other Debts, were discharged in February from the Cash in the Treasury, or Sums received in that Month. But in 1791, as both Accounts are made up to the same Day, the Difference consists solely in the Omission of such Sums as can be considered as Debts only in a general View, as opposed to Effects, such as the Capital Stock, Annuities, &c The Article of *Goods and Stores exported*, which is inserted in this Account and not in No. 2, is the Amount due for Goods and Stores, provided for Exportation in the Season of the Date of the Account, which, being both a Debt and a Credit, is omitted in the former Account, as the same Sum would be, if it were included, to be inserted on both Sides. But in this Account it is stated as a Debt, because it is one of the Objects to which the Cash in the Treasury, or future Receipts are applicable. Those Articles only which have been paid for, are included in the Value of the Effects in No. 2, under the Head of *Exports paid for*.

A COMPARISON of the Amount of the BOND and other DEBTS of the EAST-INDIA COMPANY in Great Britain, as the same stood on the 1st March, 1787; and on the 1st March, 1791.

	1st March, 1787.	1st March, 1791.	More in 1791.	Less in 1791.
Bonds standing out, bearing Interest	£ 1,996,400	3,196,700	1,200,300	-
Ditto, not bearing Interest	10,417	9,642	-	775
Freight and Demorage	311,100	300,000	-	11,100
Customs rated on Goods imported, and un- rated, on Goods sold, including Customs on Tea	393,769	498,177	104,408	-
Due to Government, per Agreement in 1781	100,000	-	-	100,000
Bills of Exchange accepted, presented, or advised	4,185,164	608,373	-	3,576,791
Warrants passed the Court unpaid	26,300	21,600	-	4,700
Supra-Cargos Commission on Goods sold	19,873	11,200	-	8,673
Money borrowed of the Bank on Exche- quer Bills	300,000	300,000	-	-
Ditto on Mortgage of Annuities	-	100	100	-
Interest on above Loan, at 4 per Cent. to 12th March each Year	6,000	6,004	4	-
Sundry Articles in the Department of Com- mittee of Shipping (exclusive of Ex- ports)	62,202	83,100	25,898	-
Teas returned by Buyers, and resold	6,142	5,944	-	198
Teas purchased in Europe	106,200	-	-	106,200
Proprietors of Private Trade, on all Goods sold	254,200	308,650	54,450	-
Alms-Houses at Poplar	12,780	57,582	44,802	-
Interest on Annuities	57,068	59,779	2,711	-
Interest on Bonds	56,311	72,263	15,952	-
Dividends on Stock	79,709	79,857	148	-
† Goods and Stores exported	£ 7,983,635 268,191	5,623,971 772,253	1,448,773 504,062	3,808,437 -
	£ 8,251,826	6,396,224	1,952,835	3,808,437

See Accounts laid before Parliament in 1787, dated 1st May; and No. 23 of 1791.

+ The Amount of Debts in this Account on 1st March, 1787, is considerably different from that in the preceding Statement for 31st January, 1787; because a great Part of the Dividends on Stock, and some other Debts, were discharged in February from the Cash in the Treasury, or Sums received in that Month. But in 1791, as both Accounts are made up to the same Day, the Difference consists solely in the Omission of such Sums as can be considered as Debts only in a general View, as opposed to Effects, such as the Capital Stock, Annuities, &c. The Article of *Goods and Stores exported*, which is inserted in this Account and not in No. 2, is the Amount due for Goods and Stores, provided for Exportation in the Scafon of the Date of the Account, which, being both a Debt and a Credit, is omitted in the former Account, as the same Sum would be, if it were included, to be inserted on both Sides. But in this Account it is stated as a Debt, because it is one of the Objects to which the Cash in the Treasury, or future Receipts are applicable. Those Articles only which have been paid for, are included in the Value of the Assets in No. 2, under the Head of *Exports paid for*.

Bonds paid off, and cancelled - - - 800

Government on account of the Demands made for the Expenses of his Majesty's Troops serving in India, and on account of victualling his Majesty's Fleet in India - - -

† 500,000

Proprietors of Private Trade - - - 2,049,693  
Paid to Government for Duty on Tea 1,303,612

£ 26,671,966

+ The Amount issued by the King's Paymaster-general, for the Pay of the Forces serving in the East-Indies, during this Period, has been as follows:

in 1787,	£ 55,168	7	11
1788,	85,797	5	2
1789,	77,923	2	7
1790,	71,597	9	2

Total in these 4 Years £ 290,486 4 10

See Accounts laid before Parliament, No. 7 of 1790, dated 17th of March; and No. 20 of 1791. Appendix L, No. 2, to the Report of the Committee of 1791, on the Publick Finances, shews the Sum issued by the Paymaster-General of the King's Forces.

# A P P E N D I X, No. IV.

An Account of the RECEIPTS and PAYMENTS of the EAST-INDIA COMPANY  
in England, from the 1st Day of March, 1787, to the 1st Day of March, 1791.

R E C E I P T S.	P A Y M E N T S.
Company's Goods sold - - - £ 18,481,805 Saltpetre delivered to the Honorable } Board of Ordnance - - - } 22,500 Customs on Private Trade Goods sold } 554,202 Freight on Ditto - - - } 10,557 Charges and Profit on Ditto - - - } 308,985 Four Years Dividends of Government } on 4,200,000, at 3 per Ct. per Ann. } 504,000 Alms-Houses at Poplar - - - } 56,298 New Stock - - - } 1,725,951 Bonds issued - - - } 2,928,701 on 1,202,750 Money borrowed of the Bank on mort- } gage of Annuities - - - } 700,000 Private Trade Goods sold - - - } 2,129,172 Duty on Tea received - - - } 1,296,320 £ 26,992,540	Customs - - - - £ 2,551,390 Last Payment to Government, per } Agreement in 1781 - - - } 100,000 Freight and Demorage - - - 3,390,572 Goods and Stores exported 2,921,743 } Bullion exported - 2,081,168 } 5002,911 Alms-Houses at Poplar - - - 16,165 Teas purchased in Europe - - - 179,508 Charges on Merchandize including } Interest on Loans - - - } 1,453,558 Money borrowed of the Bank on Mort- } gage of Annuities - - - } 699,900 Bills of Exchange, from China 2,705,040 } Ditto, from India 3,887,227 } 6,592,267 Ditto from India on Account of the } Indian Debt - - - 493,169 } 683,827 Interest on Ditto - - - 190,658 } Interest on Annuities - 353,045 } Ditto on Bonds - - - 394,564 } 2,147,763 Dividends on Stock - 1,400,154 } Bonds paid off, and cancelled - - 800 Government on account of the De- mands made for the Expenses of his Majesty's Troops serving in India, and on account of victualling his Ma- jesty's Fleet in India - - - † 500,000 Proprietors of Private Trade - - 2,049,693 Paid to Government for Duty on Tea 1,303,612 £ 26,671,966
* The Interest paid on the Indian Debts has, in former Years Accounts, as laid before Parliament, been included in the Amount paid for Bills of Exchange; but is here stated separate.	
† The Amount issued by the King's Paymaster-general, for the Pay of the Forces serving in the East-Indies, during this Period, has been as follows: in 1787, £ 55,168 7 11 1788,   85,797 5 2 1789,   77,923 2 7 1790,   71,597 9 2 Total in these 4 Years £ 290,486 4 10	

See Accounts laid before Parliament, No. 7 of 1790, dated 17th of March; and No. 20 of 1791. Appendix L, No. 2, to the Report of the Committee of 1791, on the Publick Finances, shews the Sum issued by the Paymaster-General of the King's Forces.



# A P P E N D I X, No. V.

AN ACCOUNT of the REVENUES and PAYMENTS of the General Debt, January 1, 1790.

C. Rs. 4,13,224      £. 41,322      236,711

£. 21,584,500

INTEREST on DEBTS; viz.		1786-7.	1787-8.	1788-9.	1789-90.	Total C. Rs.
Bengal - -	C. Rs.	28,96,000	28,37,263	25,81,766	23,10,187	
Madras - -	-	7,45,400	7,21,089	7,11,845	6,30,932	
Bombay - -	-	26,46,250	17,15,194	14,83,106	14,34,220	
Bencoolen - -	-	82,600	79,795	30,302	8,924	
C. Rs.		63,70,250	53,53,341	48,07,019	43,84,263	2,09,14,873
But it appears from No 31 of the Papers laid before Parliament in 1791, that 50,00,000 C. Rs. were paid, or incurred, for Interest in 1788-9; or, 1,92,981 C. Rs. } more than is included above; add therefore						1,92,981

C. Rs. 2,11,07,854      £. 2,110,785

See Accounts laid before Parliament, No. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, of 1790; No. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 10 B of 1791, for Revenues and Charges. For Interest No. 8, of 1787; No. 14, of 1788; and No. 16, of 1789, dated 22d of June; and No. 16 of 1790, dated 11th of March.

# A P P E N D I X, No. V.

AN ACCOUNT of the REVENUES and PAYMENTS of the several Prefidencies in INDIA,  
from 1786-7, to 1789 90, both inclusive, valuing the Current Rupee at 2s. the  
Pagoda at 8s. and the *Bombay* Rupee at 16 *per Cent.* better than the Current Rupee.

R E V E N U E S.				P A Y M E N T S.			
BENGAL, 1786-7	C. Rs.	5,09,44.064		BENGAL, 1786-7	C. Rs.	3,61,80,788	
1787-8		5,20,28.527		1787-8		3,21,71.531	
1788-9		5,53,88.114		1788-9		3,08,15.947	
1789-90		5,62,06.567		1789-90		3,12,51.506	
	C. Rs.	21,45,67.266	£. 21,456,726		C. Rs.	13,04,19.487	£. 13,041,488
MADRAS, 1786-7	Pags.	28,31.88		MADRAS, 1786-7	Pags.	30,16.98	
1787-8		30,28.211		1787-8		30,75.166	
1788-9		33,22.448		1788-9		39,67.37	
1789-90		31,39.519		1789 90		42,44.815	
	Pags.	1,23,22.067	£. 4,928,827		Pags.	1,40,04.458	£. 5,961,783
BOMBAY, 1786-7	Rs.	12,04,909		BOMBAY, 1786-7	Rs.	48,04.489	
1787-8		11,29,976		1787-8		47,18.500	
1788-9		13,52,460		1788 9		55,96.680	
1789-90		14,42,505		1789-90		59,88.231	
	Rs.	51,29,850	£. 595,062		Rs.	202,07,917	£. 2,344,118
			£. 26,980,615				£. 21,347,849
				Excess of Expenses at BENCIOLEN.			
				in 1786-7	£.	64.208	
				1787-8		46.74	
				1788-9		48.64	
				Supplied from Bengal			
				1789-90		35,801	
					£.	195,389	
				PRINCE OF WALLS'S ISLAND.			
				C. Rs.	4,13,224	£. 41,322	£. 236,711
							£. 21,584,500

INTEREST ON DEBTS; viz.		1786-7.	1787-8.	1788-9.	1789-90.	Total C. Rs.
Bengal - - -	C. Rs.	28,96,000	28,37,263	25,81,766	23,10,187	2,09,14,873
Madras - - -		7,45,400	7,21,089	7,11,845	6,30,932	
Bombay - - -		26,26,250	17,15,194	14,83,106	14,34,220	
Bencioelen - -		82,600	79,795	30,302	8,924	
	C. Rs.	63,70,250	53,53,341	48,07,019	43,84,263	

But it appears from No 31 of the Papers laid before Parliament in 1791, that }  
50,00,000 C. Rs. were paid, or incurred, for Interest in 1788-9; or, 1,92,981 C. Rs. }  
more than is included above; add therefore - - - - - }

C. Rs.	2,11,07,854	£. 2,110,788
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# A P P E N D I X, VI.

An ACCOUNT of the PRIME Cost and CHARGES, not added to the SUPPLIES to CHINA from INDIA.

	Bengal.	Bombay.	Bencoolen.	Total.
	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.
1786-7	17,81,998	3,89,942	1,58,375	23,30,315
1787-8	14,08,720	2,42,436	-	16,51,156
1788-9	13,30,027	1,12,327	1,07,029	15,49,383
1789-90	20,81,438	1,48,860	1,75,647	24,05,945
C. Rs.	66,02,183	8,93,565	4,41,051	79,36,799
				£. 793,680
				£. 5,012,696

This Account is not before the House of Commons.

# A P P E N D I X, VI.

An ACCOUNT of the PRIME COST and CHARGES, not added to the INVOICE, of all CARGOES purchased in *India*, and shipped for *Europe*, from 1786-7 to 1789-90, inclusive; together with the Amount of Supplies to *China* in that Period.

PRIME COST of CARGOES, including those CHARGES which are added in the INVOICE, &c.

	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Bencoolen.	Total.	
Years.	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.	Total. £.
1786-7	81,48,200	4,28,204	6,72,035	1,47,172	93,95,611	
1787-8	72,06,524	8,90,303	86,293	2,65,161	84,48,281	
1788-9	82,80,717	13,51,636	4,20,012	1,04,055	1,01,56,420	
1789-90	78,57,288	11,71,160	10,16,666	1,11,043	1,01,56,157	
C. Rs.	3,14,92,729	38,41,303	21,95,006	6,27,431	3,81,56,469	3,815,647

Accounts of  
1790, No. 9.  
dated the 24th  
of March, and  
No. 40. of 1791.

COMMERCIAL CHARGES not added to the INVOICE; viz.

	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.	
	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.	
1786-7	10,69,348	69,598	not ascertained	11,38,946	
1787-8	8,02,692	1,09,225	27,820	9,39,737	
1788-9	9,20,820	1,50,067	46,780	11,17,667	
1789-90	8,37,343	not ascertained	not ascertained	8,37,343	
C. Rs.	36,30,203	3,28,890	74,600	40,33,693	403,369
					£. 4,219,016

Accounts of  
1791, No. 4.

SUPPLIES to CHINA from INDIA.

	Bengal.	Bombay.	Bencoolen.	Total.	
	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.	
1786-7	17,81,998	3,89,942	1,58,375	23,30,315	
1787-8	14,08,720	2,42,436	-	16,51,156	
1788-9	13,30,027	1,12,327	1,07,029	15,49,383	
1789-90	20,81,438	1,48,860	1,75,647	24,05,945	
C. Rs.	66,02,183	8,93,565	4,41,051	79,36,799	£. 793,680
					£. 5,014,696

This Account is not before the House of Commons.

AN ACCOUNT of all BILLS and CERTIFICATES drawn on the COURT of DIRECTORS, at their several Settlements, in the Years 1786-7, 1787-8, 1788-9, and 1789-90, specifying the Rates

£ 8,829

The other Bills bore no Interest.

BILLS drawn on the Plans of transferring the DEBTS from INDIA to ENGLAND, payable at 548 Days after Date; or if not paid, to bear Interest at 5 per Cent. per Annum, from the Time of their becoming due,

	Rs.	d.	Rengal.	Rs.	d.	Madras.	Rs.	d.	Bombay.	Rs.	d.	Bencoolen.
1786-7	1	8	172,203	7	0	93,832	1	11	871,623			
to	1	11	455,921	7	4	181,065			155,927			3,420
1789-90				7	8	178,821			569,693			
			£. 628,124			£ 453,718			£ 1,597,243			£ 3,420
												£. 2,682,505†

† The Interest incurred on the Part of the Debt transferred from India, amounted in 1788 to £ 29,662  
1789 68,975  
1790 105,021  
£ 203,658

See Accounts laid before Parliament, No. 6, dated 17th of March, 1790; and No. 35 of 1791, for Bills and Debt from India. No. 42 of 1791, for Bills from China.—The Account of Bills from St. Helena, and the Interest on the transferred Debt for the Year 1790 are not before the House of Commons.

AN ACCOUNT OF ALL BILLS and CERTIFICATES drawn on the COURT of DIRECTORS, at their several Settlements, in the Years 1786-7, 1787-8, 1788-9, and 1789-90, specifying the Rates at which they were drawn.

BILLS and CERTIFICATES for the Purposes of TRADE, and Payment of SALARIES.

Years.	Bengal.		Madras		Bombay.		Bencoolen.		St. Helena		China.		Total. £.
	per Curr. Rupee		per Star Pagoda.		per Bombay Rup.		per Dollar.		£. Sterling.		per Dollar.		
	Rate	Amount.	Rate	Amount.	Rate	Amount.	Rate	Amount.	Amount.	Rate	Amount.		
1786-7	1 s. d.		1 s. d.		1 s. d.		1 s. d.			1 s. d.			
	2 1	118,161	3 0	49	2 3	4,250	5 0	9,400	13,231	5 6	480,431		
	2 0	2,080											
1787-8	2 1	35,321											
	2 0	47,040	8 0	19,508	2 3	5,231	5 0	7,942	15,789	5 6	1,046,663		
	1 8	4,833	7 6	1,000									
1788-9	2 1	1,605	7 6	12,512									
	2 0	607	7 6	6,247	2 3	783	5 0	9,396	18,059	5 4	573,057		
			7 6	23,114									
1789-90	2 0	16,805	8 0	4,337	2 3	4,850	5 0	10,275					
			7 8	47,350									
			7 8	3,875									
			906										
		£ 227,052		£ 118,898		£ 15,114		£ 37,013	£ 60,563		£ 2,526,773	2,985,413	

Total of Bills and Certificates drawn from India - - £ 398,077

\* The Terms on which those Bills were drawn, vary as well as the Rates; those at 1 s. d. per Current Rupee, in 1787-8, were at four Years Sight, with Interest at 5 per Cent. payable Half-yearly from their Date; others were drawn payable at 30s, and 60 Days Sight, those from China at 5 s. 7d. per Dollar, were at two Years Sight; others for one Year Sight. Some of those Bills were drawn payable at longer Dates, paying Interest for a specified Part of that Term, &c. The Interest to arising on those Bills, is stated as follows:

From Bengal -	-	1786-7	£ 4,575
	-	1787-8	2,647
	-	1788-9	240
From Madras -	-	1787-8	741
	-	1788-9	549
	-	1789-90	77
			£ 8,829

The other Bills bore no Interest.

BILLS drawn on the Plans of transferring the DEBTS from INDIA to ENGLAND, payable at 548 Days after Date; or if not paid, to bear Interest at 5 per Cent. per Annum, from the Time of their becoming due.

	1 s. d.	Bengal.	1 s. d.	Madras.	1 s. d.	Bombay.	1 s. d.	Bencoolen			
1786-7	1 8	172,203 7	0	93,832 1	11	87,102 3					
1789-90	1 11	455,921 7	4	181,065 5		155,927		3,422			
		7 8		178,821		509,093					
		£ 628,124		£ 453,718		£ 1,597,243		£ 3,422	-	-	£ 2,682,505†

† The Interest incurred on the Part of the Debt transferred from India, amounted in 1788 to £ 29,662  
 1789 68,075  
 1790 105,001  
 £ 203,658

See Accounts laid before Parliament, No. 6, dated 17th of March, 1790; and No. 35 of 1791, for Bills from India and from India. No. 42 of 1791, for Bills from China.—The Account of Bills from St. Helena, and the Interest on the transferred Debt for the Year 1790 are not before the House of Commons.





An ACCOUNT of the PRIME COST and SALE AMOUNT of, and CHARGES payable on, all Goods from *India* and *China*, fold between the 1<sup>st</sup> of *March*, 1787, and the 1<sup>st</sup> of *March*, 1791.

Prime Cost.			Sale Amount.		
India Goods.	China Goods	Total.	India Goods	China Goods	Total.
£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1787 1,128,529	1,613,806	2,742,345	2,055,117	2,818,728	4,874,614
1788 901,154	1,501,149	2,402,303	1,721,816	2,534,700	4,256,518
1789 929,038	1,543,700	2,472,738	1,785,322	2,631,950	4,417,288
1790 1,111,552	1,436,311	2,547,863	2,403,684	2,667,571	5,091,255
£.4,070,283	6,094,966	10,165,249	7,966,715	10,672,966	18,639,675
			Prime Cost	-	10,165,249
			Excess of Sale Amount, above Prime Cost,	-	£. 8,474,426

### CHARGES payable by the COMPANY from the SALE.

Freight.		Customs.		Charges of Merchandize.		Total.
India.	China.	India.	China.	India.	China.	
£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1787 306,653	442,249	504,768	71,429	123,353	169,123	1,617,575
1788 258,563	419,570	417,688	58,509	103,308	152,082	1,409,717
1789 256,579	488,964	443,817	57,953	107,119	157,917	1,512,349
1790 248,262	468,041	575,620	49,260	144,220	161,254	1,646,657
£.1,070,057	1,818,824	1,941,893	237,148	478,000	640,376	6,186,298
Net Profit on 4 Years Sales						- £. 2,288,128
Average per Annum						£. 572,032

Accounts laid before Parliament, No. 10 of 22d of March, 1790; and No. 26 of 1791, give Prime Cost; and No. 15, 16 of 1788; No. 17, 18 of 1789; No. 2, 3 of 1790, dated 17th March; No. 21, 22 of 1791, shew the Sale Amount and Charges.

# A P P E N D I X, IX.

Oct. 1790.	China	-	-	714,233	8	0	470,480	3	6	1,184,713	11	6
				£. 787,078	2	c	924,203	15	10	1,711,281	17	10
Total of Goods and Stores exported to India, } from 1785 to 1788, inclusive; which might } be received there before 30th April, 1790												
	Bullion	Ditto	-	-	-	-	114,615	2	0			
	Goods and Stores	exported to China, from								1,396,554	4	6
	1785 to 1788	-	-	-	-	-	1,285,279	7	6			
	Bullion	Ditto	-	-	-	-	2,495,520	3	5			
										3,780,799	10	11
Total to St. Helena, 1785 to 1788, £. 53,157												
See Accounts laid before Parliament, No. 39 of 1791.												
							Total	£. 5,177,353	15	5		

*Note.* As none of the Ships of Season 1789, failed before January, 1790, they could not have arrived in India before 30th April, 1790, when the Indian Accounts were closed; the Total of those Cargoes therefore were a floating Property, and could not have afforded any Aid to the Resources of India, previous to the closing those Accounts.

# A P P E N D I X, IX.

AN ACCOUNT of all BULLION, STORES, and GOODS intended for Sale,  
or for Public Service, that have been exported by the EAST-INDIA COMPANY,  
for India, St. Helena, and China from Seafon 1785 to Seafon 1789, inclusive.

Seafons.	Where exported.	Bullion.	Stores and Goods.	Totals.
Oct. 1785, to Oct. 1786.	India - - - St. Helena - - - China - - -	£. 20,057 17 0 13,978 6 11 704,253 10 1	£. 45,002 10 7 13,078 6 11 270,109 15 10	£. 265,140 7 8 13,078 6 11 974,363 5 11
		£. 724,311 7 2	520,170 13 4	1,253,482 0 6
Oct. 1786, to Oct. 1787.	India - - - St. Helena - - - China - - -	54,872 5 3 0 0 0 694,961 10 0	296,157 8 6 9,629 10 0 245,529 4 2	351,029 14 0 9,629 10 0 940,490 14 2
		£. 749,833 15 3	551,316 2 11	1,301,149 18 2
Oct. 1787, to Oct. 1788.	India - - - St. Helena - - - China - - -	19,001 9 8 0 0 0 626,896 13 4	384,277 10 8 14,907 11 8 368,441 13 4	404,179 0 4 14,907 11 8 995,338 6 8
		£. 646,798 3 0	767,626 15 1	1,414,424 18 8
Oct. 1788, to Oct. 1789.	India - - - St. Helena - - - China - - -	19,783 10 0 0 0 0 469,408 10 0	356,421 12 6 14,642 3 2 401,198 14 2	376,205 2 6 14,642 3 2 870,607 4 2
		£. 489,192 0 0	772,262 9 10	1,261,454 9 10
Oct. 1789, to Oct. 1790.	India - - - St. Helena - - - China - - -	72,844 14 0 0 0 0 714,233 8 0	444,089 14 2 9,633 18 2 470,480 3 6	516,934 8 2 9,633 18 2 1,184,713 11 6
		£. 787,078 2 0	924,203 15 10	1,711,281 17 10
Total of Goods and Stores exported to India, from 1785 to 1788, inclusive; which might be received there before 30th April, 1790			1,281,939 2 6	
Bullion Ditto - - - Ditto - - -			114,615 2 0	
Goods and Stores exported to China, from 1785 to 1788 - - - - -			1,285,279 7 6	
Bullion Ditto - - - - -			2,495,520 3 5	
				3,780,799 10 11
Total to St. Helena, 1785 to 1788, £. 53,157			Total £. 5,177,353 15 5	

See Accounts laid before Parliament, No. 39 of 1791.

*Note.* As none of the Ships of Seafon 1789, sailed before January, 1790, they could not have arrived in India before 30th April, 1790, when the Indian Accounts were closed; the Total of those Cargoes therefore were a floating Property, and could not have afforded any Aid to the Relouces of India, previous to the closing those Accounts.

A	P	P	E	N	D	I	X,	X.
			1700-7	-		9,77,045	1	335,212
			1787-8	-		7,41,280	-	283,128
			1788-9	-		1,233,270	7	456,766
			1789-90	-		1,130,868	7	415,594
								<u>£.1,490,700</u>

The Account for the Year 1786-7 is not before the House of Commons; for the other three Years, see No. 49 of the Accounts for 1791, which gives the Amount in Tales, that are here converted into Pounds Sterling, at the same Rates with the Prime Cost of the Cargoes stated in the following Appendix, No. XI.

# A P P E N D I X, X.

AN ACCOUNT of the Amount received in *India* and *China*, for the Sale of Goods and Stores imported from *Europe*, in the Years 1786-7, 1787-8, 1788-9, and 1789-90.

	1786-7.	1787-8.	1788-9.	1789-90.	Total.	Total £.
I N D I A.	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.	
General - -	7,20,765	8,18,945	12,89,544	10,73,259		
Miscellaneous - -	7,45,680	5,91,948	4,64,058	3,23,684		
Bombay - -	10,81,749	1,77,160	11,01,532	9,56,132		
	25,48,224	24,88,055	28,55,135	23,53,075	102,44,492	£. 1,024,449

The Sales of Import Stores in India could not be ascertained in 1786-7 and 1787-8, and only at Bengal in 1788-9. The Totals above stated, are therefore less than the actual Amount received,

No. 15 of 1790, dated 11th of March.

No. 15 of 1791, dated 19th of March.

## C H I N A.

	Tales.	At per Tale.	£.
		s. d.	
1786-7 - -	8,77,645	7 7½	335,212
1787-8 - -	7,41,280	- -	283,128
1788-9 - -	1,233,270	7 8	456,766
1789-90 - -	1,150,868	7 4½	415,594

£. 1,490,700

The Account for the Year 1786-7 is not before the House of Commons; for the other three Years, see No. 49 of the Accounts for 1791, which gives the Amount in Tales, that are here converted into Pounds Sterling, at the same Rates with the Prime Cost of the Cargoes stated in the following Appendix, No. XI.

	IV	V	VI
1787-8 -	20,52,329	-	783,876
1788-9 -	19,61,743	7 4 $\frac{8}{9}$	726,572
1789-90 -	14,12,567	7 4 $\frac{1}{3}$	519,118
			£. 2,868,900

This Account is not before the House of Commons.

# A P P E N D I X, XI.

AN ACCOUNT of the full Cost, including Charges of all Cargoes purchased in CHINA, and shipped for EUROPE, during the last four Years.

			Tales.	At per Tale.	
				<i>s. d.</i>	
From 28th February, 1786, to 3d April, 1787 -			49,58,76	7 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	£. 1,893,971
3d April, 1787, to 7th April, 1788 -			52,58,67	-	2,008,521
7th April, 1788, to 27th March, 1789 -			45,66,65	7 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,691,118
27th March, 1789, to 14th February, 1790 -			44,33,43	7 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,629,285
					<u>£. 7,222,895</u>

See Account laid before Parliament, No, 41 of 1791.

# A P P E N D I X, XII.

AMOUNT received in CHINA for Bullion exported from EUROPE, in the Years 1786-7, 1787-8, 1788-9, 1789-90.

Years.	Tales.	At per Tale.	£.	Total £.
		<i>s. d.</i>		
1786-7 - 21,97,527		7 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	839,334	
1787-8 - 20,52,329		- -	783,876	
1788-9 - 19,61,743		7 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	726,572	
1789-90 - 14,12,567		7 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	519,118	
				£. 2,868,900

This Account is not before the House of Commons.





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